

PLUTARCH'S LIVES.

Translated from the Original Greek ;

WITH

NOTES,

CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL ;

AND

A NEW LIFE OF PLUTARCH.

BY

J. LANGHORNE, D.D. AND W. LANGHORNE, M.A.

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES.

CLEOMENES.

AFTER Agis was put to death, Leonidas intended the same fate for his brother Archidamus; but that prince saved himself by a timely retreat. However, his wife Agiatis, who was newly brought to bed, was forced by the tyrant from her own house, and given to his son Cleomenes. Cleomenes was not quite come to years of maturity, but his father was not willing that any other man should have the lady; for she was daughter to Gylippus, and heiress to his great estate; and in beauty, as well as happiness of temper and conduct, superior to all the women of Greece. She did nothing unattempted, to prevent her being forced into this match, but found all her efforts ineffectual. Therefore, when she was married to Cleomenes, she made him a good and affectionate wife, though she hated his father. Cleomenes was passionately fond of her from the first, and his attachment to his wife made him sympathize with her on the mournful remembrance of Agis. He would often ask her for the history of that unfortunate prince, and listen with great attention to her account of his sentiments and designs.

Cleomenes was ambitious of glory, and had a native greatness of mind. Nature had, moreover, disposed him to temperance and simplicity of manners, as much as Agis; but he had not his calmness and moderation. His spirit had an ardour in it; and there was an impetuosity in his pursuits of honour, or whatever appeared to him under that character. He thought it most glorious to reign over a willing people; but, at the same time, he thought it not inglorious to subdue their reluctances, and bring them against their inclinations into what was good and salutary.

He was not satisfied with the prevailing manners and customs of Sparta. He saw that ease and pleasure were the great objects with the people; that the king paid but little regard to public concerns, and if nobody gave him any disturbance, chose to spend his time in the enjoyments of affluence and luxury; that individuals, entirely actuated by self interest, paid no attention to the business of the state, any farther than they could turn it to their own emolument. And what rendered the prospect still more melancholy, it appeared dangerous to make any mention of training the youth to strong exercises, and strict temperance, to persevering fortitude, and universal equality, since the proposing of these things cost Agis his life.

It is said too, that Cleomenes was instructed in philosophy, at a very early period of life, by Sphaerus the Borythenite*, who came to Lacedæmon, and taught the youth with great diligence and success. Sphaerus was one of the principal disciples of Zeno

* This Sphaerus was born towards the end of the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and flourished under that of Euergetes. Diogenes Lærtius has given us a catalogue of his works, which were considerable. He was the scholar of Zeno, and afterwards of Cleanthus.

the Citizen* ; and it seems that he admired the strength of genius he found in Cleomenes, and afforded fresh incentives to his love of glory. We are informed, that, when Leonidas of old was asked, "What he thought of the poetry of Tyrtæus," he said, "I think it well calculated to excite the courage of our youth ; for the enthusiasm with which it inspires them makes them fear no danger in battle." So the stoic philosophy† may put persons of great and fiery spirits upon enterprises that are too desperate ; but, in those of a grave and mild disposition, it will produce all the good effects for which it was designed.

When Leonidas died, and Cleomenes came to the crown, he observed that all ranks of men were utterly corrupted. The rich had an eye only to private profit and pleasure, and utterly neglected the public interest. The common people, on account of the meanness of their circumstances, had no spirit for war, or ambition to instruct their children in the Spartan exercises. Cleomenes himself had only the name of king, while the power was in the hands of the *ephori*. He, therefore, soon began to think of changing the present posture of affairs. He had a friend called Xenares, united to him by such an affection as the Spartans called *inspiration*. Him he first sounded ; inquiring of him what kind of prince Agis was ; by what steps, and with what associates, he came into the way he took. Xenares at first consented readily enough to satisfy his curiosity, and gave him an exact narrative of the proceedings.

* He was so called to distinguish him from Zeno of Elea, a city of Læonia, who flourished about two hundred years after the death of Zeno the Citizen. Citium, of which the elder Zeno was a native, was a town in Cyprus.

† From its tendency to inspire a contempt of death, and a belief in the agency of Providence.

But when he found that Cleomenes interested himself deeply in the affair, and took such an enthusiastic pleasure in the new schemes of Agis as to desire to hear them again and again, he reprov'd his disappointed inclinations, and at last entirely left his company. However, he did not acquaint any one with the cause of their misunderstanding; but only said, "Cleomenes knew very well." As Xenares so strongly opposed the king's project, he thought others must be as little disposed to come into it; and therefore he concerted the whole matter by himself. In the persuasion, that he could more easily effect his intended change in time of war than in peace, he embroiled his country with the Achæans, who had indeed given sufficient occasion of complaint: for Aratus, who was the leading man among them, had laid it down as a principle, from the beginning of his administration, to reduce all Peloponnesus to one body. This was the end he had in view in his numerous expeditions, and in all the proceedings of government, during the many years that he held the reins in Achaia. And, indeed, he was of opinion, that this was the only way to secure Peloponnesus against its enemies without. He had succeeded with most of the states of that peninsula; the Lacedæmonians and Æleans, and such of the Arcadians as were in the Lacedæmonian interest, were all that stood out. Upon the death of Leonidas, he commenced hostilities against the Arcadians, particularly those who bordered upon the Achæans; by this means designing to try how the Lacedæmonians stood inclined. As for Cleomenes, he despised him as a young man without experience.

The *ephor*i, however, sent Cleomenes to seize Athenæum* near Belbina. This place is one of

* A temple of Minerva.

the keys of Laconia, and was then in dispute between the Spartans and Megalopolitans. Cleomenes accordingly took it and fortified it. Aratus made no remonstrance, but marched by night to surprise Tegea and Orchomenus. However, the persons who had promised to betray those places to him found their hearts fail them when they came to the point; and he retired, undiscovered as he thought. Upon this, Cleomenes wrote to him, in a familiar way, desiring to know, "Whither he marched the night before," Aratus answered, "That, understanding his design to fortify Belbina, the intent of his last motion was to prevent that measure." Cleomenes humorously replied, "I am satisfied with the account of your march; but should be glad to know where those torches and ladders were marching."

Aratus could not help laughing at the jest; and he asked what kind of man this young prince was. Democrates, a Lacedæmonian exile, answered, "If you design to do any thing against the Spartans, you must do it quickly, before the spurs of this cockrel be grown."

Cleomenes, with a few horse and three hundred foot, was now posted in Arcadia. The *ephori*, apprehensive of a war, commanded him home; and he obeyed. But finding that, in consequence of this retreat, Aratus had taken Caphyzæ, they ordered him to take the field again. Cleomenes made himself master of Methydrium, and ravaged the territories of Argos. Whereupon the Achæans marched against him with twenty thousand foot and a thousand horse, under the command of Aristomachus. Cleomenes met him at Palantium, and offered him battle. But Aratus, intimidated by this instance of the young prince's spirit, dissuaded the general from engaging, and retreated. This retreat exposed Ara-

to reproach among the Achæans, and to scorn and contempt among the Spartans, whose army consisted not of more than five thousand men. Cleomenes, elevated with his success, began to talk in a higher tone among the people, and bade them remember an expression of one of their ancient kings, who said, "The Lacedæmonians seldom inquired the number of their enemies, but the place where they could be found."

After this, he went to the assistance of the Eleans against whom the Achæans had now turned their arms. He attacked the latter at Lycæum, as they were upon the retreat, and put them entirely to the rout; not only spreading terror through their whole army, but killing great numbers, and making many prisoners. It was even reported among the Greeks, that Aratus was of the number of the slain. Aratus, availing himself in the best manner of the opportunity, with the troops that attended him in his flight, marched immediately to Mantinea, and coming upon it by surprise, took it, and secured it for the Achæans.

The Lacedæmonians, greatly dispirited at this loss, opposed Cleomenes in his inclination for war. He, therefore, bethought himself of calling Archidamus, the brother of Agis, from Messene, to whom, in the other family, the crown belonged; for he imagined that the power of the *ephori* would not be so formidable when the kingly government, according to the Spartan constitution, was complete, and had its proper weight in the scale. The party that had put Agis to death, perceiving this, and dreading vengeance from Archidamus, if he should be established on the throne, took this method to prevent it. They joined in inviting him to come privately to Sparta, and even assisted him in his return; but they assassinated him immediately after:

Whether it was against the consent of Cleomenes, as Phylarchus thinks, or whether his friends persuaded him to abandon that unhappy prince, we cannot take upon us to say. The greatest part of the blame, however, fell upon those friends, who, if he gave his consent, were supposed to have teased him into it.

By this time he was resolved to carry his intended changes into immediate execution; and therefore he bribed the *ephors* to permit him to renew the war. He gained also many others by the assistance of his mother Cratesiclea, who liberally supplied him with money, and joined in his schemes of glory. Nay, it is said, that, though disinclined to marry again, for her son's sake she accepted a man who had great interest and authority among the people.

One of his first operations was, the going to seize Lencra, which is a place within the dependencies of Megalopolis. The Achæans hastened to its relief, under the command of Aratus; and a battle was fought under the walls, in which part of the Lacedæmonian army was beaten. But Aratus stopping the pursuit at a defile which was in the way, Lysiadæ*, the Megalopolitan, offended at the order, encouraged the cavalry under his command to pursue the advantage they had gained; by which means he entangled them among vineyards, ditches, and other enclosures, where they were forced to break their ranks, and fell into great disorder. Cleomenes, seeing his opportunity, commanded the Tegeates and Cræteans to fall upon them; and Lysiadæ, after great exertions of valour, was defeated and slain. The Lacedæmonians, thus encouraged, returned to the action with shouts of joy, and routed the whole Achæan army. After a considerable carnage, &

* In the text it is *Lysiadæ*. But Polybius calls him *Lysias*, and so does Plutarch in another place.

justice was granted the survivors, and they were permitted to bury their dead; but Cleomenes ordered the body of Lysiadidas to be brought to him. He clothed it in robes of purple, and put a crown upon its head; and, in this attire, he sent it to the gates of Megalopolis. This was that Lysiadidas who restored liberty to the city in which he was an absolute prince, and united it to the Achæan league.

Cleomenes, greatly elated with this victory, thought, if matters were once entirely at his disposal in Sparta, the Achæans would no longer be able to stand before him. For this reason he endeavoured to convince his father-in-law Megistonus, that the yoke of the *ephori* ought to be broken, and an equal division of property to be made; by means of which equality, Sparta would resume her ancient valour, and once more rise to the empire of Greece. Megistonus complied, and the king then took two or three other friends into the scheme.

About that time, one of the *ephori* had a surprising dream, as he slept in the temple of Pasiphæ. He thought, that, in the court where the *ephori* used to sit for the despatch of business, four chairs were taken away, and only one left. And as he was wondering at the change, he heard a voice from the sanctuary, which said, "This is best for Sparta." The magistrate related this vision of his to Cleomenes, who at first was greatly disconcerted, thinking that some suspicion had led him to sound his intentions. But when he found that there was no fiction in the case, he was the more confirmed in his purpose; and taking with him such of the citizens as he thought most likely to oppose it, he marched against Heræa and Alsæa, two cities belonging to the Achæan league, and took them. After this, he laid in store of provisions at Orchomenus, and then besieged Mantinea. At last he so harassed the La-

cedæmonians by a variety of long marches, that most of them desired to be left in Arcadia; and he returned to Sparta with the mercenaries only. By the way he communicated his design to such of them as he believed most attached to his interest, and advanced slowly, that he might come upon the *ephori* as they were at supper.

When he approached the town, he sent Euryclidas before him to the hall where those magistrates used to sup, upon pretence of his being charged with some message relative to the army. He was accompanied by Thericion and Phæbis, and two other young men who had been educated with Cleomenes, and whom the Spartans call *Samothracians*. These were at the head of a small party. While Euryclidas was holding the *ephori* in discourse, the others ran upon them with their drawn swords. They were all slain but Agesilaus, and he was then thought to have shared the same fate; for he was the first man that fell; but in a little time he conveyed himself silently out of the room, and crept into a little building which was the temple of FEAR. This temple was generally shut up, but then happened to be open. When he was got in, he immediately barred the door. The other four were despatched outright; and so were above ten more who came to their assistance. Those who remained quiet, received no harm; nor were any hindered from departing the city. Nay, Agesilaus himself was spared when he came the next day out of the temple.

The Lacedæmonians have not only temples dedicated to FEAR, but also to DEATH, to LAUGHTER, and many of the passions. Nor do they pay homage to *Fear*, as one of the noxious and destroying demons, but they consider it as the best cement of society. Hence it was, that the *ephori* (as Aristotle tells us), when they entered upon their office,

caused proclamation to be made, that the people should shave the upper lip, and be obedient to the laws, that they might not be under the necessity of having recourse to severity. As for the shaving of the upper lip, in my opinion, all the design of that injunction is, to teach the youth obedience in the smallest matters. And it seems to me, that the ancients did not think that valour consists in the exemption from fear; but on the contrary, in the fear or reproach, and the dread of infamy: for those who stand most in fear of the law act with the greatest intrepidity against the enemy; and they who are most tender of their reputation look with the least concern upon other dangers. Therefore one of the poets said well,

Ingenuous shame resides with fear.

Hence Homer makes Helen say to her father-in-law, Priamus,

Before thy presence, father, I appear
With conscious shame and reverential fear. *Pope.*

And, in another place, he says, the Grecian troops

With fear and silence on their chiefs attend.

For reverence, in vulgar minds, is generally the concomitant of fear. And, therefore, the Lacedæmonians placed the temple of FEAR near the hall where the *ephor*i used to eat, to show that their authority was nearly equal to the regal.

Next day Cleomenes proscribed eighty of the citizens, whom he thought it necessary to expel; and he removed all the seats of the *ephor*i except one, in which he designed to sit himself, to hear causes and despatch other business. Then he assembled the people, in order to explain and defend what he had

done. His speech was to this effect. "The administration was put by Lycurgus in the hands of the kings and the senate; and Sparta was governed by them a long time, without any occasion for other magistrates. But, as the Messenian war was drawn out to a great length, and the kings, having the armies to command, had not leisure to attend to the decision of causes at home, they pitched upon some of their friends to be left as their deputies, for that purpose, under the title of *ephori*, or *inspectors*. At first they behaved as substitutes and servants to the kings; but, by little and little, they got the power into their own hands, and insensibly erected their office into an independent magistracy*. A proof of this is a custom which has obtained till this time, that when the *ephori* sent for the king, he refused to hearken to the first and second message, and did not attend them till they sent a third. Asteropus was the first of the *ephori* who raised their office to that height of authority many ages after their creation. While they kept within the bounds of moderation, it was better to endure than to remove them; but when, by their usurpations, they destroyed the ancient form of government, when they deposed some kings, put others to death without any form of trial, and threatened those princes who desire to see the divine constitution of their country in its original lustre, they became absolutely insupportable. Had it been possible, without the shedding of blood, to have exterminated those pests which they had introduced into Lacedæmon; such as luxury, superfluous expense, debts, usury, and those more ancient evils, poverty and riches, I should then have thought my-

* When the authority of the kings was grown too enormous, Theopompus found it necessary to curb it by the institution of the *ephori*. But they were not as Cleomenes says; they were, in their first establishment, ministers to the kings.

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self the happiest of kings. In curing the distempers of my country, I should have been considered as the physician whose lenient hand heals without giving pain. But for what necessity has obliged me to do I have the authority of Lycurgus, who, though neither king nor magistrate, but only a private man, took upon him to act as a king*, and appeared publicly in arms. The consequence of which was, that Charilaus, the reigning prince, in great consternation, fled to the altar. But being a mild and patriotic king, he soon entered into the designs of Lycurgus, and accepted his new form of government. Therefore, the proceedings of Lycurgus are an evidence that it is next to impossible to new-model a constitution without the terror of an armed force. For my own part, I have applied that remedy with great moderation; only ridding myself of such as opposed the true interest of Lacedæmon. Among the rest, I shall make a distribution of all the lands, and clear the people of their debts. Among the strangers, I shall select some of the best and ablest, that they may be admitted citizens of Sparta, and protect her with their arms; and that we may no longer see Laconia a prey to the Ætolians and Illyrians for want of a sufficient number of inhabitants concerned for its defence."

When he had finished his speech, he was the first to surrender his own estate into the public stock. His father-in-law Megistonus, and his other friends, followed his example. The rest of the citizens did the same; and then the land was divided. He even assigned lots for each of the persons whom he had driven into exile; and declared that they should all be recalled when tranquillity had once more taken

* Lycurgus never assumed or aspired to regal authority; and Cleomenes mentions this only to take off the odium from himself.

place. Having filled up the number of citizens out of the best of the inhabitants of the neighbouring countries, he raised a body of four thousand foot, whom he taught to use the two-handed pike instead of the javelin, and to hold their shields by a handle, and not by a ring as before. Then he applied himself to the education of the youth, and formed them with all the strictness of the Lacedæmonian discipline; in the course of which he was much assisted by Sphærus. Their schools of exercise, and their refectories, were soon brought into that good order which they had of old; some being reduced to it by compulsion, but the greatest part coming voluntarily into that noble training peculiar to Sparta. However, to prevent any offence that might be taken at the name of monarchy, he made his brother Euclidas his partner to the throne; and this was the only time that the Spartans had two kings of the same family.

He observed that the Achæans, and Aratus, the principal man among them, were persuaded that the late change had brought the Spartan affairs into a doubtful and unsettled state; and that he would not quit the city while it was in such a ferment. He therefore thought it would have both its honour and utility to show the enemy how readily his troops would obey him. In consequence of which he entered the Megalopolitan territories, where he spread desolation, and made a very considerable booty. In one of his last marches he seized a company of comedians who were on the road from Messene; upon which, he built a stage in the enemy's country; proposed a prize of forty minæ to the best performer, and spent one day in seeing them. Not that he set any great value on such diversions, but he did it by way of insult upon the enemy, to show his superiority by this mark of contempt. For, among the Grecian and royal armies, his was the only one

which had not a train of players, jugglers, singers, and dancers, of both sexes. No intemperance or buffoonery, no public shows or feasts, except on the late occasion, were ever seen in his camp. The young men passed the greatest part of their time in the exercises, and the old menⁱⁿ in teaching them. The hours of leisure were amused with cheerful discourse, which had all the smartness of Laconic repartee. This kind of amusement had those advantages which we have mentioned in the life of Lycurgus.

The king himself was the best teacher. Plain and simple in his equipage and diet, assuming no manner of pomp above a common citizen, he set a glorious example of sobriety. This was no small advantage to his affairs in Greece. When the Greeks addressed themselves to other kings, they did not so much admire their wealth and magnificence, as execrate their pride and spirit of ostentation, their difficulty of access, and harshness of behaviour to all who had business at their courts. But when they applied to Cleomenes, who not only bore that title, but had all the great qualities of a king, they saw no purple or robes of state, no rich carriages, no gauntlet of pages or door-keepers to be run. Nor had they their answer, after great difficulties, from the mouth of secretaries; but they found him in an ordinary habit, ready to meet them and offer them his hand. He received them with a cheerful countenance, and entered into their business with the utmost ease and freedom. This engaging manner gained their hearts; and they declared he was the only worthy descendant of Hercules.

His common supper was short and truly Laconic. There were only couches for three people; but when he entertained ambassadors or strangers, two more couches were added, and the table was a little

better furnished by the servants. Not that any curious desert was added; only the dishes were larger, and the wine more generous: for he blamed one of his friends for setting nothing before strangers but the coarse cake and black broth which they eat in their common refectories. "When we have strangers to entertain," he said, "we need not be such very exact Lacedæmonians." After supper, a three-legged stand was brought in, upon which were placed a brass bowl full of wine, two silver pots that held about a pint and a half a piece, and a few cups of the same metal. Such of the guests as were inclined to drink, made use of these vessels, for the cup was not pressed upon any man against his will. There was no music or other extrinsic amusement; nor was any such thing wanted. He entertained his company very agreeably with his own conversation; sometimes asking questions, and sometimes telling stories. His serious discourse was perfectly free from moroseness; and his mirth from petulance and rusticity. The arts which other princes used of drawing men to their purpose by bribery and corruption he looked upon as both iniquitous and impolitic. But to engage six people in his interest by the charms of conversation, without fraud or guile, appeared to him an honourable method, and worthy of a king. For he thought this the true difference between a hireling and a friend; that the one is gained by money, and the other by an obliging behaviour.

The Mantineans were the first who applied for his assistance. They admitted him into their city in the night; and having with his help expelled the Achæan garrison, put themselves under his protection. He reestablished their laws and ancient form of government, and retired the same day to Tegea. From

thence, he fetched a compass through Arcadia, and and marched down to Phere in Achaia: intending by this movement either to bring the Achæans to a battle, or make them look upon Aratus in a mean light, for giving up the country, as it were, to his destroying sword.

Hyperbatas was indeed general at that time, but Aratus had all the authority. The Achæans assembled their forces, and encamped at Dymeæ* near Hegatombœum; upon which Cleomenes marched up to them, though it was thought a rash step for him to take post between Dymeæ, which belonged to the enemy, and the Achæan camp. However, he boldly challenged the Achæans, and indeed, forced them to battle, in which he entirely defeated them, killed great numbers upon the spot, and took many prisoners. Lango was his next object, from which he expelled an Achæan garrison, and then put the town into the hands of the Eleans.

When the Achæan affairs were in this ruinous state, Aratus, who used to be general every other year, refused the command, though they pressed him strongly to accept it. But certainly it was wrong, when such a storm was raging, to quit the helm, and leave the direction to another. The first demands of Cleomenes appeared to the Achæan deputies moderate enough; afterwards he insisted on having the command himself. In other matters, he said, he should not differ with them, for he would restore them both the prisoners and their lands. The Achæans agreed to a pacification on these conditions, and invited Cleomenes to Lerna, where a general assembly of their state was to be held. But Cleomenes, hastening his march too much, heated

* Polybius calls it Dymæ.

himself, and then very indignantly drank cold water; the consequence of which was, that he threw up a great quantity of blood, and lost the use of his speech. He therefore sent the Achæans the most respectable of the prisoners, and putting off the meeting, retired to Lacedæmon.

This ruined the affairs of Greece. Had it not been for this, she might have recovered out of her present distress, and have maintained herself against the insolence and rapaciousness of the Macedonians. Aratus either feared or distrusted Cleomenes, or envied his unexpected success. He thought it intolerable that a young man newly sprung up should rob him at once of the honour and power which he had been in possession of for three and thirty years, and come into a government which had been growing so long under his auspices. For this reason, he first tried what his interest and powers of persuasion would do to keep the Achæans from closing with Cleomenes; but they were prevented from attending to him, by their admiration of the great spirit of Cleomenes, and their opinion that the demands of the Spartans were not unreasonable, who only desired to bring Peloponnesus back to its ancient model. Aratus then undertook a thing which would not have become any man in Greece, but in him was particularly dishonourable, and unworthy of all his former conduct, both in the cabinet and the field—He called Antigonus into Greece, and filled Peloponnesus with Macedonians, though in his youth he had expelled them, and rescued the citadel of Corinth out of their hands. He was even an enemy to all kings, and was equally hated by them. Antigonus, in particular, he loaded with a thousand reproaches, as appears from the writings he has left behind him*.

* Aratus wrote a history of the Achæans, and of his own conduct.

He boasts that he had encountered and overcome innumerable difficulties in order to deliver Athens from a Macedonian garrison; and yet he brought those very Macedonians, armed as they were, into his own country, into his own house, and even into the women's apartment. At the same time he could not bear that a Spartan king, a descendant of Hercules, who wanted only to restore the ancient polity of his country, to correct its broken harmony, and bring it back to the sober Doric tone which Lycurgus had given it*; he could not bear that such a prince should be declared general of the Sicyonians and Tricæans†. While he avoided the coarse cake and short cloak, and, what he thought the greatest grievance in the whole system of Cleomenes, the abolishing of riches and the making poverty a more supportable thing, he made Achaia truckle to the diadem and purple of Macedonians, and of Asiatic grandees. To shun the appearance of submission to Cleomenes, he offered sacrifices to the divinity of Antigonus, and with a garland on his head, sung pæans in honour of a rotten Macedonian. These things we say not in accusation of Aratus (for in many respects he was a great man and worthy of Greece); we mean only to point out with compassion the weakness of human nature, which, in dispositions the best formed to virtue, can produce no excellence without some taint of imperfection.

When the Achæans assembled again at Argos, and Cleomenes came down from Tegea to meet them, the Greeks entertained great hopes of peace.

* The music, like the architecture of the Dorians, was remarkable for its simplicity.

† This probably should be Tritæans. Tritææ was a city of Phocis, and comprehended in the league; but Tricæ, which was in Thessaly, could hardly be so.

But Aratus, who had already settled the principal points with Antigonus, fearing that Cleomenes, either by his obliging manner of treating, or by force, would gain all he wanted of the people, proposed, "That he should take three hundred hostages for the security of his person, and enter the town alone; or, if he did not approve of that proposal, should come to the place of exercise without the walls, called Cyllarabium*, and treat there at the head of his army." Cleomenes remonstrated, that these proceedings were very unjust. He said, "They should have made him these proposals at first, and not now, when he was come to their gates, distrust and shut him out." He therefore wrote the Achæans a letter on this subject, almost filled with complaints of Aratus; and the applications of Aratus to the people were little more than invectives against the king of Sparta. The consequence of this was, that the latter quickly retired, and sent a herald to declare war against the Achæans. This herald, according to Aratus, was sent not to Argos, but to Ægium†, in order that the Achæans might be entirely unprepared. There were at this time great commotions among the members of the Achæan league; and many towns were ready to fall off: for the common people hoped for an equal distribution of lands, and to have their debts canceled; while the better sort in general were displeased at Aratus, and some of them highly provoked at his bringing the Macedonians into Peloponnesus.

Encouraged by these misunderstandings, Cleomenes entered Achaia; where he first took Pellene by surprise, and dislodged the Achæan garrison.

* From Cyllarbus, the son of Sthenelus.

† This was a maritime town of Achaia, on the Corinthian Bay. The intention of Cleomenes was to take it by surprise, before the inhabitants could have intelligence of the war.

Afterwards he made himself master of Pheneum and Penteleum. As the Achæans were apprehensive of a revolt at Corinth and Sicyon, they sent a body of cavalry and some mercenaries from Argos to guard against any measures attending that way, and went themselves to celebrate the Nemean games at Argos. Upon this, Cleomenes hoping, what really proved the case, that, if he could come suddenly upon the city, while it was filled with multitudes assembled to partake of the diversions, he should throw all into the greatest confusion, marched up to the walls by night, and seized the quarter called Aspis, which lay above the theatre, notwithstanding its difficulty of access. This struck them with such terror that not a man thought of making any resistance; they agreed to receive a garrison, and gave twenty of the citizens as hostages for their acting as allies to Sparta, and following the standard of Cleomenes as their general.

This action added greatly to the fame and authority of that prince. For the ancient kings of Sparta, with all their endeavours, could never fix Argos in their interest; and Pyrrhus, one of the ablest generals in the world, though he forced his way into the town, could not hold it, but lost his life in the attempt, and had great part of his army cut in pieces. Hence the despatch and keenness of Cleomenes were the more admired; and they who before had laughed at him for declaring he would tread in the steps of Solon and Lycurgus in the canceling of debts, and in an equal division of property, were now fully persuaded that he was the sole cause of all the change in the spirit and success of the Spartans. In both respects they were so contemptible before, and so little able to help themselves, that the Ætolians made an inroad into Laconia, and carried off fifty thousand slaves. On which occasion, one

of the old Spartans said, "the enemy had done them a kindness, in taking such a heavy charge off their hands." Yet they had no sooner returned to their primitive customs and discipline, than, as if Lycurgus himself had restored his polity, and invigorated it with his presence, they had given the most extraordinary instances of valour and obedience to their magistrates, in raising Sparta to its ancient superiority in Greece, and recovering Peloponnesus.

Cleonæ and Phlius* came in the same tide of success with Argos. Aratus was then making an inquisition at Corinth into the conduct of such as were reported to be in the Lacedæmonian interest. But, when the news of their late losses reached him, and he found that the city was falling off to Cleomenes, and wanted to get rid of the Achæans, he was not a little alarmed. In this confusion he could think of no better expedient than that of calling the citizens to council, and, in the meantime, he stole away to the gate. A horse being ready for him there, he mounted and fled to Sicyon. The Corinthians were in such haste to pay their compliments to Cleomenes, that, Aratus tells us, they killed or spoiled all their horses. He acquaints us also, that Cleomenes highly blamed the people of Corinth for suffering him to escape. Nevertheless, he adds, that Megistonus came to him on the part of that prince, and offered to give him large sums if he would deliver up the citadel of Corinth, where he had an Achæan garrison. He answered, "That affairs did not then depend upon him, but he must be governed by their circumstances." So Aratus himself writes.

Cleomenes, in his march from Argos, added the Træzenians, the Epidaurians, and Hermionians, to

* • Towns between Argos and Corinth.

the number of his friends and allies, and then went to Corinth, and drew a line of circumvallation about the citadel, which the Achæans refused to surrender. However, he sent for the friends and stewards of Aratus, and ordered them to take care of his house and effects in that city. He likewise sent again to that general by Tritymallus, the Messenian, and proposed that the citadel should be garrisoned half with Achæans and half with Lacedæmonians; offering, at the same time, to double the pension he had from Ptolemy, king of Egypt. As Aratus, instead of accepting these conditions, sent his son and other hostages to Antigonus, and persuaded the Achæans to give orders that the citadel of Corinth should be put in the hands of that prince, Cleomenes immediately ravaged the territories of Sicyon, and in pursuance of a decree of the Corinthians, seized on the whole estate of Aratus. After Antigonus had passed Gerania * with a great army, Cleomenes thought it more advisable to fortify the Onæan mountains † than the Isthmus, and by the advantage of his post to tire out the Macedonians, rather than hazard a pitched battle with a veteran phalanx. Antigonus was greatly perplexed at this plan of operations. For he had neither laid in a sufficient quantity of provisions, nor could he easily force the pass by which Cleomenes had sat down. He attempted one night, indeed, to get into Peloponnesus by the port of Lachæum ‡, but was repulsed with loss.

Cleomenes was much encouraged with this success, and his troops went to their evening's refreshments with pleasure. Antigonus, on the other hand,

* Mountain between Megara and Corinth.

† This range of mountains extends from the Scironian rocks, on the road to Attica, as far as mount Citheron. Strab. l. vii.

‡ One of the harbours at Corinth.

was extremely dispirited ; for he saw himself in so troublesome a situation that it was scarcely possible to find any resources which were not extremely difficult. At last he determined to move to the promontory of Heræum, and from thence to transport his troops in boats to Sicyon ; but that required a great deal of time and very considerable preparations. However, the evening after, some of the friends of Aratus arrived from Argos by sea, being sent to acquaint him that the Argives were revolting from Cleomenes, and purposed to invite him to that city. Aristotle was the author of the defection ; and he had found no great difficulty in persuading the people into it, because Cleomenes had not canceled their debts, as he had given them room to hope. Upon this Aratus, with fifteen hundred men whom he had from Antigonus, sailed to Epidaurus. But Aristotle, not waiting for him, assembled the townsmen, and, with the assistance of Timoxenus and a party of Achæans from Sicyon, attacked the citadel.

Cleomenes getting intelligence of this about the second watch of the night, sent for Megistonus, and, in an angry tone, ordered him to the relief of Argos : for it was he who had principally undertaken for the obedience of the Argives, and, by that means, prevented the expulsion of such as were suspected. Having despatched Megistonus upon this business, the Spartan prince watched the motions of Antigonus, and endeavoured to dispel the fears of the Corinthians, assuring them, it was no great thing that had happened at Argos, but only an inconsiderable tumult. Megistonus got into Argos, and was slain in a skirmish there ; the garrison were hard pressed, and messenger after messenger sent to Cleomenes. Upon this he was afraid that the enemy, after they had made themselves masters

of Argos, would block up the passages against him, and then go and ravage Laconia at their pleasure, and besiege Sparta itself, which was left without defence. He therefore decamped from Corinth, the consequence of which was the loss of the town; for Antigonus immediately entered it, and placed a garrison there. In the meantime Cleomenes, having collected his forces which were scattered in their march, attempted to scale the walls of Argos; but failing in that enterprise, he broke open the vaults under the quarter called Aspis, gained an entrance that way, and joined his garrison, which still held out against the Achæans. After this he took some other quarters of the city by assault; and ordering the Cretan archers to ply their bows, cleared the streets of the enemy. But when he saw Antigonus descending with his infantry from the heights into the plain, and his cavalry already pouring into the city, he thought it impossible to maintain his post. He had now no other resource but to collect all his men, and retire along the walls, which he accordingly did without loss. Thus, after achieving the greatest things in a short space of time, and making himself master of almost all Peloponnesus in one campaign, he lost all in less time than he gained it; some cities immediately withdrawing from his alliance, and others surrendering themselves not long after to Antigonus.

Such was the ill success of this expedition. And what was no less a misfortune, as he was marching home, messengers from Lacedæmon met him in the evening near Tegea, and informed him of the death of his wife. His affection and esteem for Agiatis was so great that, amidst the current of his happiest success, he could not stay from her a whole campaign, but often repaired to Sparta. No wonder, then, that a young man, deprived of so beautiful and

virtuous a wife, was extremely affected with the loss. Yet his sorrow did not debase the dignity of his mind. He spoke in the same accent; he preserved the same dress and look; he gave his orders to his officers, and provided for the security of Tegea.

Next morning he entered Lacedæmon; and after paying a proper tribute to grief at home with his mother and his children, he applied himself to the concerns of state. Ptolemy, king of Egypt, agreed to furnish him with succours; but it was on condition that he sent him his mother and children as hostages. This circumstance he knew not how to communicate to his mother; and he often attempted to mention it to her, but could not go forward. She began to suspect that there was something which he was afraid to open to her, and she asked his friends what it might be. At last he ventured to tell her; upon which she laughed very pleasantly, and said, "Was this the thing which you have so long hesitated to express? Why do not you immediately put us on board a ship, and send this carcass of mine, where you think it may be of most use to Sparta, before age renders it good for nothing, and sinks it into the grave?"

When every thing was prepared for the voyage; they went by land to Tænarus; the army conducting them to that port. Cratisiclea being on the point of taking ship, took Cleomenes alone into the temple of Neptune, where seeing him in great emotion and concern, she threw her arms about him, and said, "King of Sparta, take care that when we go out, no one perceive us weeping, or doing any thing unworthy that glorious place. This alone is in our power; the event is in the hands of God." After she had given him this advice, and composed her

countenance, she went on board, with her little grandson in her arms, and ordered the pilot to put to sea as soon as possible.

Upon her arrival in Egypt, she understood that Ptolemy had received ambassadors from Antigonus and seemed to listen to his proposals; and, on the other hand, she was informed that Cleomenes, though invited by the Achæans to a pacification, was afraid, on her account, to put an end to the war, without Ptolemy's consent. In this difficulty she wrote to her son, to desire him "to do what he thought most advantageous and honourable for Sparta, and not for the sake of an old woman and a child, to live always in fear of Ptolemy." So great was the behaviour of Cratesiclea under adverse fortune.

After Antigonus had taken Tegea, and plundered Orchomanus and Mantinea, Cleomenes, now shut up within the bounds of Laconia, enfranchised such of the *helots* as could pay five Attic *minæ* for their liberty. By this expedient he raised fifty talents; and having, moreover, armed and trained in the Macedonian manner two thousand of those *helots*, whom he designed to oppose to the *Leucaspides* of Antigonus, he engaged in a great and unexpected enterprise. Megalopolis was at that time as great and powerful a city as Sparta. It was supported, besides, by the Achæans and Antigonus, whose troops lay on each side of it. Indeed, the Megalopolitans were the foremost and most eager of all the Achæans in their application to Antigonus. This city, however, Cleomenes resolved to surprise; for which purpose he ordered his men to take five days provisions, and led them to Sellasia, as if he designed an inroad into the territories of Argos. But he turned short, and entered those of Megalopolis;

and, after having refreshed his troops at Rhoetium, he marched, by Helicon*, directly to the object he had in view. When he was near it, he sent Panteus before with two companies of Lacedæmonians, to seize that part of the wall which was between the two towers, and which he understood to be the least guarded. He followed with the rest of his army at the common pace. Panteus finding not only that quarter, but great part of the wall without defence, pulled it down in some places, undermined it in others, and put all the sentinels to the sword. While he was thus employed, Cleomenes came up, and entered the city with his forces, before the Megalopolitans knew of his approach.

They were no sooner apprized of the misfortune which had befallen them than the greatest part left the city, taking their money and most valuable effects with them. The rest made a stand, and though they could not dislodge the enemy, yet their resistance gave their fellow-citizens opportunity to escape. There remained not above a thousand men in the town, all the rest having retired to Messene, with their wives and children, before there was any possibility of pursuing them. A considerable part even of those who had armed and fought in defence of the city got off, and very few were taken prisoners. Of this number were Lysandridas and Thearidas, two persons of great name and authority in Megalopolis. As they were such respectable men, the soldiers carried them before Cleomenes. Lysandridas no sooner saw Cleomenes, than he thus addressed him. "Now," said he in a loud voice, because it was at a distance, "now, king of Sparta, you have an opportunity to do an action much more glorious and princely than the late one, and to acquire

* Labinus thinks it ought to be read Helisson, there being no such place as Helicon in Arcadia.

immortal honour." Cleomenes, guessing at his aim, made answer; "You would not have me restore you the town?" "That is the very thing," said Lysandridas, "I would propose. I advise you, by all means, not to destroy so fine a city, but to fill it with firm friends and faithful allies, by restoring the Megalopolitans to their country, and becoming the saviour of so considerable a people." Cleomenes paused awhile, and then replied, "This is hard to believe; but be it as it will, let glory with us have always greater weight than interest." In consequence of this determination, he sent the two men to Messene, with a herald in his own name, to make the Megalopolitans an offer of their town, on condition that they would renounce the Achæans, and declare themselves his friends and allies.

Though Cleomenes made so gracious and humane a proposal, Philopœmen would not suffer the Megalopolitans to accept it, or to quit the Achæan league*, but assuring them that the king of Sparta, instead of inclining to restore them their city, wanted to get the citizens too into his power, he forced Thearides and Lysandridas to leave Messene. This is that Philopœmen who afterwards was the leading man among the Achæans, and (as we have related in his life) one of the most illustrious personages among the Greeks.

Upon this news, Cleomenes, who hitherto had kept the houses and goods of the Megalopolitans with such care that not the least thing was embezzled, was enraged to such a degree that he plundered the whole, sent the statues and pictures to Sparta, and leveled the greatest and best parts of the city with the ground. After this, he marched home again, being under some apprehensions that

* Polybius bestows great and just encomiums on this conduct of the Megalopolitans. l. 11.

Antigonus and the Achæans would come upon him. They, however, made no motion towards it, for they were then holding a council at Ægium. Aratus mounted the *rostrum* on that occasion, where he wept a long time, with his robe before his face. They were all greatly surprised, and desired him to speak. At last he said, "Megalopolis is destroyed by Cleomenes." The Achæans were astonished at so great and sudden a stroke, and the council immediately broke up. Antigonus made great efforts to go to the relief of the place; but, as his troops assembled slowly from their winter-quarters, he ordered them to remain where they were, and marched to Argos with the forces he had with him.

This made the second enterprise of Cleomenes appear rash and desperate: but Polybius*, on the contrary, informs us, that it was conducted with great prudence and foresight. For knowing (as he tells us) that the Macedonians were dispersed in winter-quarters, and that Antigonus lay in Argos with only his friends and a few mercenaries about him, he entered the territories of that city; in the persuasion that either the shame of suffering such an inroad would provoke Antigonus to battle, and expose him to a defeat, or that if he declined the combat, it would bring him into disrepute with the Argives. The event justified his expectation. When the people of Argos saw their country laid waste, every thing that was valuable destroyed or carried off, they ran in great displeasure to the king's gates, and besieged them with clamour, bidding him either go out and fight, or else give place to his superiors. Antigonus, however, like a wise and able general, thought the censures of strangers no disgrace, in comparison of his quitting a place of se-

curity, and rashly hazarding a battle, and therefore he abode by his first resolutions. Cleomenes, in the meantime, marched up to the very walls, insulted his enemies, and, before he retired, spread desolation at his pleasure.

Soon after his return, he was informed that Antigonus was come to Tegea, with a design to enter Laconia on that side. Upon this emergency, he put his troops under march another way, and appeared again before Argos by break of day, ravaging all the adjacent fields. He did not now cut down the corn with scythes and sickles, as people usually do, but beat it down with wooden instruments in the form of scymitars, as if this destruction was only an amusement to his soldiers in their march. Yet when they would have set fire to Cyllarabis, the school of exercise, he prevented it; reflecting that the ruin of Megalopolis was dictated rather by passion than by reason.

Antigonus immediately returned to Argos, having taken care to place guards in all the passes of the mountains. But Cleomenes, as if he held him and his operations in the utmost contempt, sent heralds to demand the keys of Juno's temple, that he might sacrifice to the goddess. After he had pleased himself with this insult on his enemy, and offered his sacrifice under the walls of the temple, which was fast shut up, he led his troops off to Phlius. In his march from thence he dislodged the garrison of Ologuntum, and then proceeded by Orchomenus; by which means he not only inspired this people with fresh courage, but came to be considered by the enemy as a most able general, and a man capable of the greatest undertakings: for, with the strength of the single city to oppose the whole power of the Macedonians and Peloponnesians, and all the treasures of the king; and not only to keep Laconia un-

ouched, but to carry devastation into the enemy's country, were indications of no common genius and spirit.

He who first called money *the sinews of business*, seems principally to have had respect to that of war. And Demades, when the Athenians called upon him to equip their navy and get it out, though their treasury was very low, told them, "They must think of baking bread, before they thought of an embarkation." It is also said that the old Archidamus, at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, when the allies desired that the quota of each should be determined, made answer, that "war cannot be kept at a set diet." And in this case we may justly say, that as wrestlers, strengthened by long exercise, do at last tire out those who have equal skill and agility, but not the exercise; so Antigonus coming to the war with vast funds, in process of time tired out and overcame Cleomenes, who could but in a very slender manner pay his mercenaries, and give his Spartans bread.

In all other respects the times favoured Cleomenes, Antigonus being drawn home by the bad posture of his affairs: for in his absence the barbarians invaded and ravaged all Macedonia. The Illyrians in particular, descending with a great army from the north, harassed the Macedonians so much that they were forced to send for Antigonus. Had the letters been brought a little before the battle, that general would have immediately departed, and bidden the Achæans a long farewell. But fortune, who loves to make the greatest affairs turn upon some minute circumstance, showed on this occasion of what consequence a moment of time may be.

Plutarch had this reflection from Polybius.

As soon as the battle of Sellasia* was fought, and Cleomenes had lost his army and his city, messengers came to call Antigonus home. This was a great aggravation of the Spartan king's misfortunes. Had he held off and avoided an action only a day or two longer, he would have been under no necessity of fighting; and, after the Macedonians were gone, he might have made peace with the Achæans on what conditions he pleased. But such, as we said, was his want of money, that he had no resource but the sword; and, therefore, as Polybius informs us, with twenty thousand men was forced to challenge thirty thousand.

He showed himself an excellent general in the whole course of the action; his Spartans behaved with great spirit, and his mercenaries fought not ill. His defeat was owing to the superior advantage the Macedonians had in their armour, and to the weight and impetuosity of their *phalanx*.

Phylarchus, indeed, assures us, it was the treachery of one of his officers, that ruined the affairs of Cleomenes. Antigonus had ordered the Illyrians and Acarnanians secretly to fetch a compass, and surround that wing which was commanded by Euclidas, the brother of Cleomenes, while he was marshaling the rest of his army. Cleomenes taking

* Polybius has given a particular account of this battle. Antigonus had twenty-eight thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse. The army of Cleomenes consisted only of twenty thousand; but it was advantageously posted. He was encamped on two mountains, which were almost inaccessible, and separated only by a narrow defile. These he had fortified with strong ramparts and a deep fosse; so that Antigonus, after reconnoitring his situation, did not think proper to attack him, but encamped at a small distance on the plain. At length, for want of money and provisions, Cleomenes was forced to come to action, and was beaten. POL. lib. 11.

a view from an eminence of his adversary's disposition, could not perceive where the Illyrians and Acarnanians were posted, and began to fear they were designed for some such manœuvre. He therefore called Damotectes, whose business it was to guard against any surprise, and ordered him to reconnoitre the enemy's rear with particular care, and form the best conjecture he could of the movements they intended. Damotectes, who is said to be bribed by Antigonus, assured him that "he had nothing to fear from that quarter, for all was safe in the rear; nor was there any thing more to be done but to bear down upon the front." Cleomenes, satisfied with this report, attacked Antigonus. The Spartans charged with so much vigour, that they made the Macedonian *phalanx* give ground, and eagerly pursued their advantage for about five furlongs. The king then seeing Euclidas in the other wing quite surrounded, stopped, and cried out, "thou art lost, my dear brother, thou art lost! in spite of all thy valour! but great is thy example to our Spartan youth, and the songs of our matrons shall for ever record thee*!"

Euclidas, and the wing he commanded, thus being slain, the victors fell upon Cleomenes, who seeing his men in great confusion, and unable to maintain the fight, provided as well as he could for his own safety. It is said that great numbers of the mercenaries were killed; and that of six thousand Lacedæmonians no more than two hundred were saved.

When he reached Sparta, he advised the citizens to receive Antigonus. "For my part," said he, "I am willing either to live or to die, as the odds are."

* He acted like a brave soldier, but not a skilful officer. Instead of pouring upon the enemy from the heights, and retreating as he found it convenient, he stood still, and allowed the Macedonians to cut off his retreat.

the other may be most for the interest of my country." Seeing the women run to meet the few brave men, who had escaped with him, help to take off their armour, and present them with wine, he retired into his own house. After the death of his wife, he had taken into his house a young woman, who was a native of Megalopolis, and freeborn, but fell into his hands at the sack of the place. She approached him, according to custom, with a tender of her services on his return from the field. But though both thirsty and weary, he would neither drink nor sit down; he only leaned his elbow against a pillar, and his head upon it, armed as he was; and having rested a few moments, while he considered what course to take, he repaired to Gythium with his friends. There they went on board vessels provided for that purpose, and immediately put out to sea.

Upon the arrival of Antigonus, Sparta surrendered. His behaviour to the inhabitants was mild and humane, and not unsuitable to the dignity of their republic; for he offered them no kind of insult, but restored to them their laws and polity; and after having sacrificed to the gods, retired the third day. He was informed, indeed, that Macedonia was involved in a dangerous war; and that the barbarians were ravaging the country. Besides, he was in a deep consumption, and had a continual defluxion upon the lungs. However, he bore up under his affliction, and wrestled with domestic wars, until a great victory over, and carnage of the barbarians made him die more glorious. Phylarchus tells us, (and it is not at all improbable) that he burst a vessel in his lungs with shouting in the battle: though it passed in the schools, that in expressing his joy after the victory, and crying out, "O glorious day!" he brought up a great quantity of blood, and fell

into a fever, of which he died. Thus much concerning Antigonus.

From the isle of Cythea, where Cleomenes first touch'd, he sailed to another island called Ægialia. There he had formed a design to pass over to Cyrene, when one of his friends, named Therycion, a man of high and intrepid spirit, on all occasions, and one who always indulged himself in a lofty and haughty turn of expression, came privately to Cleomenes, and thus addressed him; "We have lost, my prince, the most glorious death, which we might have found in the battle; though the world had heard us boast that Antigonus should never conquer the king of Sparta till he had slain him. Yet there is another exit still offered us by glory and virtue. Whither then are we so absurdly sailing? Flying a death that is near, and seeking one that is remote. If it is not dishonourable for the descendants of Hercules to serve the successors of Philip and Alexander, why do not we save ourselves a long voyage, by making our submission to Antigonus, who, in all probability, as much excels Ptolemy as the Macedonians do the Egyptians? But if we do not choose to be governed by a man who beat us in the field, why do we take one who never conquered us, for our master? Is it that we may show our inferiority to two, instead of one, by flying before Antigonus, and then going to flatter Ptolemy? Shall we say that you go into Egypt for the sake of your mother? It will be a glorious and happy thing truly for her, to show Ptolemy's wives her son, of a king become a captive and an exile. No! while we are yet masters of our swords, and are yet in sight of Laconia, let us deliver ourselves from this miserable fortune, and make our excuse for our past behaviour to those brave men who fell for Sparta at Sellasia. Or shall we rather sit down in Egypt, and

inquire whom Antigonus has left governor of Laconia?"

Thus Therycion spoke, and Cleomenes made this answer: "Dost thou think, then, wretch that thou art! dost thou think, by running into the arms of death, than which nothing is more easy to find, to show thy courage and fortitude? And dost thou not consider that this flight is more dastardly than the former? Better men than we have given way to their enemies, being either overset by fortune, or oppressed by numbers. But he who gives out either for fear of labour and pain, or of the opinions and tongues of men, falls a victim to his own cowardice. A voluntary death ought to be an action, not a retreat from action. For it is an ungenerous thing either to live or to die to ourselves. All that thy expedient could possibly do would be only the extricating us from our present misfortunes, without answering any purpose either of honour or utility. But I think neither thou nor I ought to give up all hopes for our country. If those hopes should desert us, death, when we seek for him, will not be hard to find." Therycion made no reply; but the first opportunity he had to leave Cleomenes, he walked down to the shore and stabbed himself.

Cleomenes left Ægialia, and sailed to Africa, where he was received by the king's officers, and conducted to Alexandria. When he was first introduced to Ptolemy*, that prince behaved to him with sufficient kindness and humanity; but when, upon farther trial of him, he found what strength of understanding he had, and that his laconic and simple way of conversing was mixed with a vein of wit and pleasantry; when he saw that he did not, in any instance whatever, dishonour his royal birth, or

* Ptolemy Euergetes.

crouch to fortune, he began to take more pleasure in his discourse than in the mean sacrifices of obsequiousness and flattery. He greatly repented, and blushed at the thought of having neglected such a man, and given him up to Antigonus, who, by conquering him, had acquired so much power and glory. He, therefore, encouraged him now with every mark of attention and respect, and proposed to send him back to Greece with a fleet and a supply of money, to reestablish him in his kingdom. His present appointments amounted to four-and-twenty talents by the year. Out of this he maintained himself and his friends in a sober and frugal manner, and bestowed the rest in offices of humanity to such Greeks as had left their country and retired into Egypt.

But old Ptolemy died before he could put his intentions in favour of Cleomenes in execution; and the court soon becoming a scene of debauchery, where women had the sway, the business of Cleomenes was neglected. For the king* was so much corrupted with wine and women, that in his more sober and serious hours he would attend to nothing but the celebration of mysteries, and the beating a drum with his royal hands about the palace; while the great affairs of state were left to his mistress Agathoclea, and her mother, and Oenantes the infamous minister to his pleasures. It appears, however, that at first some use was made of Cleomenes; for Ptolemy, being afraid of his brother Magas, who, through his mother's interest, stood well with the army, admitted Cleomenes to a consultation in his cabinet: the subject of which was, whether he should destroy his brother. All the rest voted for it, but Cleomenes opposed it strongly. He said,

* Ptolemy Philopater.

The king, if it were possible, should have more brothers, for the greater security of the crown, and the better management of affairs." And when Sosibius, the king's principal favourite, replied, "That the mercenaries could not be depended on while Magas was alive," Cleomenes desired them to give themselves no pain about that: "For," said he, "above three thousand of the mercenaries are Peloponnesians, who, upon a nod from me, will be ready with their arms." Hence, Ptolemy, for the present, looked upon Cleomenes not only as a fast friend, but a man of power; but his weakness afterwards increasing his timidity, as is common with people of little understanding, he began to place his security in jealousy and suspicion. His ministers were of the same stamp, and they considered Cleomenes as an object of fear, on account of his interest with the mercenaries; insomuch that many were heard to say, "That he was a lion among a flock of sheep." Such, indeed, he seemed to be in court, where, with a silent severity of aspect, he observed all that passed.

In these circumstances, he made no more applications for ships or troops. But being informed that Antigonus was dead; that the Achæans were engaged in war with the Ætolians; and that affairs called strongly for his presence, in the troubles and distractions that then reigned in Peloponnesus, he desired only a conveyance thither for himself and his friends. Yet no man listened to him. The king, who spent his time in all kinds of bacchanalian revels with women, could not possibly hear him. Sosibius, the prime minister, thought Cleomenes must prove a formidable and dangerous man, if he were kept in Egypt against his will; and that it was not safe to dismiss him, because of his bold and enterprising spirit; and because he had been an eyewit-

ness to the distempered state of the kingdom: for it was not in the power of money to mollify him. As the ox Apis, though reveling, to all appearance, in every delight that he can desire, yet longs after the liberty which nature gave him, wants to bound over the fields and pastures at his pleasure, and discovers a manifest uneasiness under the hands of the priest who feeds him; so Cleomenes could not be satisfied with a soft and effeminate life; but, like Achilles,

Consuming cares lay heavy on his mind:
In his black thoughts revenge and slaughter roll,
And scenes of blood rise dreadful in his soul. *Pope.*

While his affairs were in this posture, Nicagoras the Messenian, a man who concealed the most rancorous hatred of Cleomenes, under the pretence of friendship, came to Alexandria. It seems he had formerly sold him a handsome piece of ground, and the king, either through want of money or his continual engagement in war, had neglected to pay him for it. Cleomenes, who happened to be walking upon the quay, saw this Nicagoras just landing from a merchantman, and, saluting him with great kindness, asked, "What business had brought him to Egypt?" Nicagoras returned the compliment with equal appearance of friendship, and answered; "I am bringing some fine war-horses for the king." Cleomenes laughed, and said, "I could rather have wished that you had brought him some female musicians and pathics; for those are the cattle that the king at present likes best." Nicagoras, at that time, only smiled; but a few days after he put Cleomenes in mind of the field he had sold him, and desired he might now be paid; pretending, that he would not have given him any trouble about it, if he had not found considerable loss in the disposal of his mer-

chandise." Cleomenes assured him, "That he had nothing left of what the kings of Egypt had given him;" upon which, Nicagoras, in his disappointment, acquainted Sosibius with the joke upon the king. Sosibius received the information with pleasure; but, being desirous to have something against Cleomenes that would exasperate Ptolemy still more, he persuaded Nicagoras to leave a letter, asserting, that, "If the Spartan prince had received a supply of ships and men from the king of Egypt's bounty, he would have made use of them in seizing Cyrene for himself." Nicagoras accordingly left the letter, and set sail. Four days after, Sosibius carried it to Ptolemy, as if just come to his hands; and having worked up the young prince to revenge, it was resolved that Cleomenes should have a large apartment assigned him, and be served there as formerly, but not suffered to go out.

This was a great affliction to Cleomenes; and the following accident made his prospects still more miserable. Ptolemy, the son of Chrysermus, who was an intimate friend of the king's, had all along behaved to Cleomenes with great civility; they seemed to like each other's company, and were upon some terms of confidence. Cleomenes, in this distress, desired the son of Chrysermus to come and speak to him. He came and talked to him plausibly enough, endeavouring to dispel his suspicions and to apologise for the king. But as he was going out of the apartment, without observing that Cleomenes followed him to the door, he gave the keepers a severe reprimand, "for looking so carelessly after a wild beast, who, if he escaped, in all probability could be taken no more." Cleomenes having heard this, retired before Ptolemy perceived him, and acquainted his friends with it. Upon this, they all dismissed their former hopes, and, taking the mea-

asures which anger dictated, they resolved to revenge themselves of Ptolemy's injurious and insolent behaviour, and then die as became Spartans, instead of waiting long for their doom in confinement, like victims fatted for the altar. For they thought it an insufferable thing that Cleomenes, after he had disdained to come to terms with Antigonos, a brave warrior, and a man of action, should sit expecting his fate from a prince who assumed the character of a priest of Cybele; and who, after he had laid aside his drum, and was tired of his dance, would find another kind of sport in putting him to death.

After they had taken their resolution, Ptolemy happening to go to Canopus, they propagated a report, that, by the king's order, Cleomenes was to be released; and as it was the custom of the kings of Egypt to send those to whom they designed to extend such grace a supper, and other tokens of friendship, the friends of Cleomenes made ample provision for the purpose, and sent it to the gate. By this stratagem the keepers were deceived; for they imagined that the whole was sent by the king. Cleomenes then offered sacrifice, with a chaplet of flowers on his head, and afterwards sat down with his friends to the banquet, taking care that the keepers should have large portions to regale them. It is said, that he set about his enterprise sooner than he intended, because he found that one of the servants who was in the secret had been out all night with his mistress. Fearing, therefore, that a discovery might be made about mid-day, while the intoxication of the preceding night still kept the guards fast asleep, he put on his military tunic, having first opened the seam of the left shoulder, and rushed out, sword in hand, accompanied by his friends, who were thirteen in number, and accoutred in the same manner.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES.

One of them, named Hippotas, though lame, at first was enabled, by the spirit of the enterprise, to keep pace with them; but afterwards perceiving, that they went slower on his account, he desired them to kill him, and not ruin the whole scheme by waiting for a man who could do them no service. By good fortune they found an Alexandrian leading a horse in the street; they took it, and set Hippotas upon it, and then moved swiftly through the streets, all the way inviting the people to liberty. They had just spirit enough left to praise and admire the bold attempt of Cleomenes, but not a man of them ventured to follow or assist him.

Ptolemy, the son of Chrysermus, happening to come out of the palace, three of them fell upon him, and despatched him. Another Ptolemy, who was governor of the city, advanced to meet them in his chariot: they attacked and dispersed his officers and guards; and, dragging him out of the chariot, put him to the sword. Then they marched to the citadel, with a design to break open the prison and join the prisoners, who were no small number, to their party; but the keepers had prevented them by strongly barricading the gates. Cleomenes, thus disappointed again, roamed up and down the city; and he found that not a single man would join him, but that all avoided him as they would avoid infection.

He therefore stopped, and said to his friends, "It is no wonder that women govern a people who fly from liberty;" adding, "That he hoped they would all die in a manner that would reflect no dishonour upon him, or on their own achievements." Hippotas desired one of the younger men to despatch him, and was the first that fell. Afterwards each of them, without fear or delay, fell upon his own sword, except Panteus, who was the first man that scaled the walls of Megalopolis, when it was taken by surprise. He

was in the flower of his age; remarkable for his beauty, and of a happier turn than the rest of the youth for the Spartan discipline, which perfections had given him a great share in the king's regard; and he now gave him orders not to despatch himself, till he saw his prince and all the rest breathless on the ground. Panteus tried one after another with his dagger, as they lay, lest some one should happen to be left with life in him. On pricking Cleomenes in the foot, he perceived a contortion in his face. He, therefore kissed him, and sat down by him till the breath was out of his body; and then embracing the corpse, slew himself upon it.

Thus fell Cleomenes, after he had been sixteen years king of Sparta, and showed himself in all respects the great man. When the report of his death had spread over the city, Cratesiclea, though a woman of superior fortitude, sunk under the weight of the calamity; she embraced the children of Cleomenes, and wept over them. The eldest of them, disengaging himself from her arms, got unsuspected to the top of the house, and threw himself down headlong. The child was not killed, but much hurt; and, when they took him up, he loudly expressed his grief and indignation that they would not suffer him to destroy himself.

Ptolemy was no sooner informed of these things than he ordered the body of Cleomenes to be flayed, and nailed to a cross, and his children to be put to death, together with his mother, and the women her companions. Amongst these was the wife of Panteus, a woman of great beauty, and a most majestic presence. They had been but lately married, and their misfortunes overtook them amidst the first transports of love. When her husband went with Cleomenes from Sparta, she was desirous of accompanying him; but was prevented by her parents, who

kept her in close custody. But soon after she provided herself a horse and a little money, and, making her escape by night, rode at full speed to Tædærus, and there embarked on board a ship bound for Egypt. She was brought safe to Panteus, and she cheerfully shared with him in all the inconveniences they found in a foreign country. When the soldiers came to take out Cratesiclea to execution, she led her by the hand, assisting in bearing her robe, and desired her to exert all the courage she was mistress of; though she was far from being afraid of death, and desired no other favour than that she might die before her children. But when they came to the place of execution, the children suffered before her eyes, and then Cratesiclea was despatched, who, in this extreme distress, uttered only these words, "O! my children! whither are you gone!"

The wife of Panteus, who was tall and strong, girt her robe about her, and, in a silent and composed manner, paid the last offices to each woman that lay dead, winding up the bodies as well as her present circumstances would admit. Last of all, she prepared herself for the poniard, by letting down her robe about her, and adjusting it in such a manner as to need no assistance after death; then calling the executioner to do his office, and permitting no other person to approach her, she fell like a heroine. In death she retained all the decorum she had preserved in life; and the decency which had been so sacred with this excellent woman still remained about her. Thus, in this bloody tragedy, wherein the women contended to the last for the prize of courage with the men, Lacedæmon showed that *it is impossible for fortune to conquer virtue.*

A few days after, the soldiers who watched the body of Cleomenes on the cross* saw a great snake

* That the friends of the deceased might not take it away

winding about his head, and covering all his face, so that no bird of prey durst touch it. This struck the king with superstitious terrors, and made way for the women to try a variety of expiations; for Ptolemy was now persuaded that he had caused the death of a person who was a favourite of heaven, and something more than mortal. The Alexandrians crowded to the place, and called Cleomenes a hero, a son of the gods, till the philosophers put a stop to their devotions, by assuring them, that, as dead oxen breed bees *, horses wasps, and beetles rise out of the putrefaction of asses; so human carcasses, when some of the moisture of the marrow is evaporated, and it comes to a thicker consistence, produce serpents. The ancients, knowing this doctrine, appropriated the serpent, rather than any other animal, to heroes.

TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS.

TIBERIUS GRACCHUS.

HAVING thus presented you with the history of Agis and Cleomenes, we have two Romans to compare with them; and no less dreadful a scene of calamities to open in the lives of Tiberius and Caius Gracchus. They were the sons of Tiberius Gracchus; who, though he was once honoured with the cen-

by night. Thus we find in Petronius's *Ephesian Matron*. *Mille qui cruce asservabat, nequis ad sepulchrum corpora detra-*
heret : And thus we find in an authority, we shall not mention at the same time with Petronius.

* This was the received opinion of antiquity, as we find in Varro &c. &c.

sorship, twice with the consulate, and led up two triumphs, yet derived still greater dignity from his virtues*. Hence, after the death of that Scipio who conquered Hannibal, he was thought worthy to marry Cornelia, the daughter of that great man, though he had not been upon any terms of friendship with him, but rather always at variance. It is said that he once caught a pair of serpents upon his bed, and that the soothsayers, after they had considered the prodigy, advised him neither to kill them both, nor let them both go. If he killed the male serpent, they told him his death would be the consequence; if the female, that of Cornelia. Tiberius, who loved his wife, and thought it more suitable for him to die first, who was much older than his wife, killed the male, and set the female at liberty. Not long after this, he died, leaving Cornelia with no fewer than twelve children†.

The care of the house and the children now entirely devolved upon Cornelia; and she behaved with such sobriety, so much parental affection and greatness of mind, that Tiberius seemed not to have judged ill, in choosing to die for so valuable a woman. For though Ptolemy, king of Egypt, paid his addresses to her, and offered her a share in his throne, she refused him. During her widowhood, she lost all her children except three, one daughter, who was married to Scipio the younger, and two sons, Tiberius and Caius, whose lives we are now writing. Cornelia brought them up with so much care, that though they were without dispute of the noblest family, and had the happiest genius and disposition of all the Roman youth, yet

* Cicero in his first book *de Divinatione* passes the highest encomiums on his virtue and wisdom. He was grandson to Publius Sempronius.

† Cicero relates this story in his first book *de Divinatione*, from the memoirs of Caius Gracchus, the son of Tiberius.

education was allowed to have contributed more to their perfections than nature.

As in the statues and pictures of Castor and Pollux, though there is a resemblance between the brothers, yet there is also a difference in the make of him who delighted in the *cestus*, and in the other whose province was horsemanship: so while these young men strongly resembled each other in point of valour, of temperance, of liberality, of eloquence, of greatness of mind, there appeared in their actions and political conduct no small dissimilarity. It may not be amiss to explain the difference, before we proceed farther.

In the first place, Tiberius had a mildness in his look, and a composure in his whole behaviour; Caius as much vehemence and fire. So that when they spoke in public, Tiberius had a great modesty of action, and shifted not his place: whereas Caius was the first of the Romans that, in addressing the people, moved from one end of the *rostra* to the other, and threw his gown off his shoulder. So it is related of Cleon of Athens, that he was the first orator who threw back his robe and smote upon his thigh. The oratory of Caius was strongly impassioned, and calculated to excite terror; that of Tiberius was of a more gentle kind, and pity was the emotion that it raised.

The language of Tiberius was chastised and elaborate; that of Caius splendid and persuasive. So, in their manner of living, Tiberius was plain and frugal; Caius, when compared to other young Romans, temperate and sober, but, in comparison with his brother, a friend to luxury. Hence, Drusas objected to him, that he had bought Delphic tables*, of silver only, but very exquisite workmanship, at the rate of twelve hundred and fifty *drachmas* a pound.

* These, we suppose, were a kind of tripods,

Their tempers were no less different than their language. Tiberius was mild and gentle, but high-spirited and uncontrolled; insomuch, that in speaking he would often be carried away by the violence of his passion, exalt his voice above the regular pitch, give into abusive expressions, and disorder the whole frame of his oration. To guard against these excesses, he ordered his servant Lucilius, who was a sensible man, to stand with a pitchpipe* behind him when he spoke in public, and whenever he found him straining his voice or breaking out into anger, to give him a softer key; upon which, his violence both of tone and passion immediately abated, and he was easily reconciled to a propriety of address.

Such was the difference between the two brothers. But in the valour they exerted against their enemies, in the justice they did their fellow citizens, in attention to their duty as magistrates, and in self-government with respect to pleasure, they were perfectly alike. Tiberius was nine years older than his brother; consequently their political operations took place in different periods. This was a great disadvantage, and indeed the principal thing that prevented their success. Had they flourished together, and acted in concert, such an union would have added greatly to their force, and perhaps might have rendered it irresistible. We must, therefore, speak of each separately; and we shall begin with the eldest.

Tiberius, as he grew towards manhood, gained so extraordinary a reputation, that he was admitted into the college of the augurs, rather on account of his virtue than his high birth. Of the excellence of his character the following is also a proof. Appianus Claudius, who had been honoured both with the consulate and censorship, whose merit had raised him to

* Cicero, in his third book *de Oratore*, calls this a small ivory pipe, *Edurneola fistula*.

the rank of president of the senate, and in sense and spirit was superior to all the Romans of his time, supping at evening with the *augurs* at a public entertainment, addressed himself to Tiberius with great kindness, and offered him his daughter in marriage. Tiberius accepted the proposal with pleasure; and the contract being agreed upon, Appius, when he went home, had no sooner entered the house, than he called out to his wife, and said "Antistia, I have contracted our daughter Claudia." Antistia, much surprised, answered, "Why so suddenly? What need of such haste, unless Tiberius Gracchus be the man you have pitched upon?" I am not ignorant that some* tell the same story of Tiberius, the father of the Gracchi, and Scipio Africanus: but most historians give it in the manner we have mentioned; and Polybius, in particular, tells us, that after the death of Africanus, Cornelia's relations gave her to Tiberius, in preference of all competitors; which is a proof that her father left her unengaged.

The Tiberius of whom we are writing served in Africa under the younger Scipio, who had married his sister; and, as he lived in the same tent with the general, he became immediately attentive to his genius and powers, which were daily productive of such actions as might animate a young man to virtue, and attract his imitation. With these advantages Tiberius soon excelled all of his age, both in point of discipline and valour. At a siege of one of the enemy's towns, he was the first that scaled the walls, as Fannius relates†, who, according to his own account, mounted it with him, and had a share in the honour. In short, Tiberius, while he staid with the army, was greatly beloved, and as much regretted when he left it.

* Amongst these was Livy, Lib. xxxviii. c. 37.

† This Fannius was author of a history and certain annals which were abridged by Brutus.

After this expedition he was appointed quæstor, and it fell to his lot to attend the consul Caius Mancinus in the Numantian war*. Mancinus did not want courage, but he was one of the most unfortunate generals the Romans ever had. Yet, amidst a train of severe accidents and desperate circumstances, Tiberius distinguished himself the more, not only by his courage and capacity, but, what did him greater honour, by his respectful behaviour to his general, whose misfortunes had made him forget even the authority that he bore. For, after having lost several important battles, he attempted to decamp in the night: the Numantians, perceiving this movement, seized the camp, and falling upon the fugitives, made great havock of the rear. Not satisfied with this, they surrounded the whole army, and drove the Romans upon impracticable ground, where there was no possibility of escape. Mancinus, now despairing of making his way sword in hand, sent a herald to beg a truce and conditions of peace. The Numantians, however, would trust no man but Tiberius, and they insisted on his being sent to treat. This they did, not only out of regard to the young man who had so great a character in the army, but to the memory of his father, who had formerly made war in Spain, and after having subdued several nations, granted the Numantians a peace, which through his interest was confirmed at Rome, and observed with good faith. Tiberius was accordingly sent; and, in his negotiation, he thought proper to comply with some articles, by which means he gained others; and made a peace that undoubtedly saved twenty thousand Roman citizens, besides slaves and other retainers to the army.

But whatever was left in the camp the Numantians

* He was consul with *Emilius Lepidus* in the year of Rome 616.

took as legal plunder. Among the rest they carried off the books and papers which contained the accounts of Tiberius's quæstorship. As it was a matter of importance to him to recover them, though the Roman army was already under march, he returned with a few friends to Numantia. Having called out the magistrates of the place, he desired them to restore him his books, that his enemies might not have an opportunity to accuse him, when they saw he had lost the means of defending himself. The Numantians were much pleased that the accident had given them an opportunity to oblige him, and they invited him to enter their city. As he was deliberating on this circumstance, they drew nearer, and taking him by the hand, earnestly entreated him no longer to look upon them as enemies, but to rank them among his friends, and place a confidence in them as such. Tiberius thought it best to comply, both for the sake of his books, and for fear of offending them by the appearance of distrust. Accordingly he went into the town with them, where the first thing they did was to provide a little collation, and to beg he would partake of it. Afterwards they returned him his books, and desired he would take whatever else he chose among the spoils. He accepted, however, of nothing but some frankincense, to be used in the public sacrifices, and at his departure he embraced them with great cordiality.

On his return to Rome, he found that the whole business of the peace was considered in an obnoxious and dishonourable light. In this danger, the relations and friends of the soldiers he had brought off, who made a very considerable part of the people, joined to support Tiberius; imputing all the disgrace of what was done to the general, and insisting that the quæstor had saved so many citizens. The generality of the citizens, however, could not

suffer the peace to stand, and they demanded that, in this case, the example of their ancestors should be followed. For when their generals thought themselves happy in getting out of the hands of the Samnites, by agreeing to such a league, they delivered them naked to the enemy*. The questors too, and the tribunes, and all that had a share in concluding the peace, they sent back in the same condition, and turned entirely upon them the breach of the treaty and of the oath that should have confirmed it.

On this occasion the people showed their affection for Tiberius in a remarkable manner: for they decreed that the consul should be delivered up to the Numantians, naked and in chains; but that all the rest should be spared for the sake of Tiberius. Scipio, who had then great authority and interest in Rome, seems to have contributed to the procuring of this decree. He was blamed, notwithstanding, for not saving Mancinus, nor using his best endeavours to get the peace with the Numantians ratified, which would not have been granted at all, had it not been on account of his friend and relation Tiberius. Great part of these complaints, indeed, seems to have arisen from the ambition and excessive zeal of Tiberius's friends and the sophists he had about him; and the difference between him and Scipio was far from terminating in irreconcilable enmity. Nay, I am persuaded, that Tiberius would never have fallen into those misfortunes that ruined him, had Scipio been at home, to assist him in his political conduct. He was engaged in war with Numantia, when Tiberius ventured to propose his new laws. It was on this occasion.

* This was about one hundred and eighty-two years before. The generals sent back were the consuls Veturius Calvinus and Posthumius Albinus.

When the Romans in their wars made any acquisitions of lands from their neighbours, they used formerly to sell part, to add part to the public demesnes, and to distribute the rest among the necessitous citizens; only reserving a small rent to be paid into the treasury. But when the rich began to carry it with a high hand over the poor, and to exclude them entirely, if they did not pay exorbitant rents, a law was made that no man should be possessed of more than five hundred acres of land. This statute for a while restrained the avarice of the rich, and helped the poor, who, by virtue of it, remained upon their lands at the old rents. But afterwards their wealthy neighbours took their farms from them, and held them in other names; though, in time, they scrupled not to claim them in their own. The poor, thus expelled, neither gave in their names readily to the levies, nor attended to the education of their children. The consequence was a want of freemen all over Italy; for it was filled with slaves and barbarians, who, after the poor Roman citizens were dispossessed, cultivated the ground for the rich. Caius Lælius, the friend of Scipio, attempted to correct this disorder: but finding a formidable opposition from persons in power, and fearing the matter could not be decided without the sword, he gave it up. This gained him the name of Lælius the *wise**. But Tiberius was no sooner appointed tribune of the people, than he embarked in the same enterprise. He was put upon it, according to most authors, by Diophanes the rhetorician, and Blossius the philosopher; the former of whom was a Mitylenian exile, the latter a native of Cumæ in Italy, and a particular friend of Antipater of Tarsus, with whom

* Plutarch seems here to have followed some mistaken authority. It was not this circumstance, but the abstemiousness of his life, that gave Lælius the name of *wise*.

he became acquainted at Rome, and who did him the honour to address some of his philosophical writings to him.

Some blame his mother Cornelia, who used to reproach her sons, that she was still called the mother-in-law of Scipio, not the mother of the Gracchi. Others say, Tiberius took this rash step from a jealousy of Spurius Posthumius, who was of the same age with him, and his rival in oratory. It seems, when he returned from the wars, he found Posthumius so much before him in point of reputation and interest with the people, that, to recover his ground, he undertook this hazardous affair, which so effectually drew the popular attention upon him. But his brother Caius writes, that as Tiberius was passing through Tuscany on his way to Numantia, and found the country almost depopulated, there being scarce any husbandmen or shepherds, except slaves from foreign and barbarous nations, he then first formed the project which plunged them in so many misfortunes. It is certain, however, that the people inflamed his spirit of enterprise and ambition, by putting up writings on the porticos, walls, and monuments, in which they begged of him to restore their share of the public lands to the poor.

Yet he did not frame the law without consulting some of the Romans that were most distinguished for their virtue and authority. Among these were Crassus the chief pontiff, Mutius Scævola the lawyer, who at that time was also consul, and Appius Claudius, father-in-law to Tiberius. There never was a milder law made against so much injustice and oppression.¹ For they who deserved to have been punished for their infringement on the rights of the community, and fined for holding the lands contrary to law, were to have a consideration for giving up their groundless claims, and restoring the

estates to such of the citizens as were to be relieved. But though the reformation was conducted with so much tenderness, the people were satisfied: they were willing to overlook what was passed, on condition that they might guard against future usurpations.

On the other hand, persons of great property opposed the law out of avarice, and the lawgiver out of a spirit of resentment and malignity; endeavouring to prejudice the people against the design, as if Tiberius intended by the *Agrarian* law to throw all into disorder, and subvert the constitution. But their attempts were vain. For, in this just and glorious cause, Tiberius exerted an eloquence which might have adorned a worse subject, and which nothing could resist. How great was he, when the people were gathered about the *rostrum*, and he pleaded for the poor in such language as this: "The wild beasts of Italy have their caves to retire to, but the brave men who spill their blood in her cause have nothing left but air and light. Without houses, without any settled habitations, they wander from place to place with their wives and children; and their generals do but mock them, when, at the head of their armies, they exhort their men to fight for their sepulchres and domestic gods: for, among such numbers, perhaps there is not a Roman who has an altar that belonged to his ancestors, or a sepulchre in which their ashes rest. The private soldiers fight and die, to advance the wealth and luxury of the great; and they are called masters of the world, while they have not a foot of ground in their possession."

Such speeches as this, delivered by a man of such spirit, and flowing from a heart really interested in the cause, filled the people with an enthusiastic fury, and none of his adversaries durst pretend to answer

him. Forbearing, therefore, the war of words, they address themselves to Marcus Octavius, one of the tribunes, a grave and modest young man, and an intimate acquaintance of Tiberius. Out of reverence for his friend, he declined the task at first; but upon a number of applications from men of the first rank, he was prevailed upon to oppose Tiberius, and prevent the passing of the law: for the tribunes' power chiefly lies in the negative voice, and if one of them stands out, the rest can effect nothing.

Incensed by this behaviour, Tiberius dropped his moderate bill, and proposed another more agreeable to the commonality, and more severe against the usurpers. For by this they were commanded immediately to quit the lands which they held contrary to former laws. On this subject there were daily disputes between him and Octavius on the *rostra*; yet not one abusive or disparaging word is said to have escaped either of them in all the heat of speaking. Indeed, an ingenuous disposition and liberal education will prevent or restrain the sallies of passion, not only during the free enjoyment of the bottle, but in the ardour of contention about points of a superior nature.

Tiberius, observing that Octavius was liable to suffer by the bill, as having more land than the laws could warrant, desired him to give up his opposition, and offered, at the same time, to indemnify him out of his own fortune, though that was not great. As this proposal was not accepted, Tiberius forbade all other magistrates to exercise their functions, till the *Agrarian* law was passed. He likewise put his own seal upon the doors of the temple of Saturn, that the quæstors might neither bring any thing into the treasury, nor take any thing out. And he threatened to fine such of the prætors as should attempt to disobey his command. This struck such a terror,

that all departments of government were at a stand. Persons of great property put themselves into mourning, and appeared in public with all the circumstances that they thought might excite compassion. Not satisfied with this, they conspired the death of Tiberius, and suborned assassins to destroy him: for which reason he appeared with a tuck, such as is used by robbers, which the Romans call a *dolon**.

When the day appointed came, and Tiberius was summoning the people to give their suffrages, a party of the people of property carried off the balloting vessels †, which occasioned great confusion. Tiberius, however, seemed strong enough to carry his point by force, and his partisans were preparing to have recourse to it, when Manlius and Fulvius, men of consular dignity, fell at Tiberius's feet, bathed his hands with tears, and conjured him not to put his purpose in execution. He now perceived how dreadful the consequences of his attempt might be, and his reverence for those two great men had its effect upon him: he therefore asked them what they would have him do. They said, they were not capable of advising him in so important an affair, and earnestly entreated him to refer it to the senate. The senate assembled to deliberate upon it, but the in-

* We find this word used by Virgil.

Pila manu, sævosque gerunt in bella dolones.

Æn. vii. 664.

The *dolon* was a staff that had a poniard concealed within it, and had its name from *dolus*, deceit.

† The original signifies an urn. The Romans had two sorts of vessels which they used in balloting. The first were open vessels called *cistæ*, or *cistellæ*, which contained the ballots before they were distributed to the people; the others, with narrow necks, were called *strellæ*, and into these the people cast their ballots. The latter were the vessels which are here said to have been carried off.

fluence of the people of fortune on that body was such, that their debates ended in nothing.

Tiberius then adopted a measure that was neither just nor moderate. He resolved to remove Octavius from the tribuneship, because there was no other means to get his law passed. He addressed him, indeed, in public first, in a mild and friendly manner, and taking him by the hand, conjured him to gratify the people, who asked nothing that was unjust, and would only receive a small recompense for the great labours and dangers they had experienced. But Octavius absolutely refused to comply. Tiberius then declared, "That it was not possible for two magistrates of equal authority, when they differed in such capital points, to go through the remainder of their office without coming to hostilities, he saw no other remedy but the deposing of them." He therefore desired Octavius to take the sense of the people first with respect to him; assuring him that he would immediately return to a private station, if the suffrages of his fellow-citizens should order it so. As Octavius rejected this proposal too, Tiberius told him plainly, that he would put the question to the people concerning him, if upon farther consideration he did not alter his mind.

Upon this he dismissed the assembly. Next day he convoked it again; and when he had mounted the *rostra*, he made another trial to bring Octavius to compliance. But finding him inflexible, he proposed a decree for depriving him of the tribuneship, and immediately put it to the vote. When, of the five and thirty tribes, seventeen had given their voices for it, and there wanted only one more to make Octavius a private man, Tiberius ordered them to stop, and once more applied to his colleague. He embraced him with great tenderness in the sight of the people, and with the most pressing instances be-

sought him, neither to bring such a mark of infamy upon himself, nor expose him to the disreputation of being promoter of such severe and violent measures. It was not without emotion that Octavius is said to have listened to these entreaties. His eyes were filled with tears, and he stood a long time silent. But when he looked towards the persons of property, who were assembled in a body, shame and fear of losing himself in their opinion brought him back to his resolution to run all risks, and, with a noble firmness, he bade Tiberius do his pleasure. The bill, therefore, was passed; and Tiberius ordered one of his freedmen to pull down Octavius from the tribunal; for he employed his own freedmen as lictors. This ignominious manner of expulsion made the case of Octavius more pitiable. The people, notwithstanding, fell upon him; but by the assistance of those of the landed interest, who came to his defence, and kept off the mob, he escaped with his life. However, a faithful servant of his, who stood before him to ward off the danger, had his eyes torn out. This violence was much against the will of Tiberius, who no sooner saw the tumult rising, than he hastened down to appease it.

The Agrarian law then was confirmed, and three commissioners appointed to take a survey of the lands, and see them properly distributed. Tiberius was one of the three, his father-in-law, Appius Claudius, another, and his brother, Caius Gracchus, the third. The latter was then making the campaign under Scipio at Numantia. Tiberius having carried these points without opposition, next filled up the vacant tribune's seat; into which he did not put a man of any note, but Mutius, one of his own clients. These proceedings exasperated the patricians extremely, and as they dreaded the increase of his power, they took every opportunity to insult him in

the senate. When he desired, for instance, what was nothing more than customary, a tent at the public charge, for his use in dividing the lands, they refused him one, though such things had been often granted on much less important occasions. And, at the motion of Publius Nasica, he had only nine *oboli* a day allowed for his expenses. Nasica, indeed, was become his avowed enemy; for he had a great estate in the public lands, and was of course unwilling to be stripped of it.

At the same time the people were more and more enraged. One of Tiberius's friends happening to die suddenly, and malignant spots appearing upon the body, they loudly declared that the man was poisoned. They assembled at his funeral, took the bier upon their shoulders, and carried it to the pile. There they were confirmed in their suspicions; for the corpse burst, and emitted such a quantity of corrupted humours, that it put out the fire. Though more fire was brought, still the wood would not burn till it was removed to another place; and it was with much difficulty at last that the body was consumed. Hence Tiberius took occasion to incense the commonalty still more against the other party. He put himself in mourning; he led his children into the forum, and recommended them and their mother to the protection of the people, as giving up his own life for lost.

About this time died Attalus * Philopator; and Eudemus of Pergamus brought his will to Rome, by which it appeared, that he had left the Roman people his heirs. Tiberius, endeavouring to avail himself of this incident, immediately proposed a

* This was Attalus III. the son of Eumenes II. and Stratonice, and the last king of Pergamus. He was not, however, surnamed *Philopator*, but *Philometor*, and so it stands in the manuscript of St. Germain.

law, "That all the ready money the king had left should be distributed among the citizens, to enable them to provide working tools and proceed in the cultivation of their new assigned lands. As to the cities, too, in the territories of Attalus, the senate, he said, had not a right to dispose of them, but the people, and he would refer the business entirely to their judgment.

This embroiled him still more with the senate; and one of their body, of the name of Pompey, stood up and said, "He was next neighbour to Tiberius, and by that means had opportunity to know that Eudemus the Pergamenian had brought him a royal diadem and purple robe for his use when he was king of Rome." Quintus Metellus said another severe thing against him. "During the censorship of your father, whenever he returned home after supper*, the citizens put out their lights, that they might not appear to indulge themselves at unseasonable hours; but you, at a late hour, have some of the meanest and most audacious of the people about you with torches in their hands." And Titus Annius, a man of no character in point of morals, but an acute disputant, and remarkable for the subtlety both of his questions and answers, one day challenged Tiberius, and offered to prove him guilty of a great offence in deposing one of his colleagues, whose person by the laws was sacred and inviolable. This proposition raised a tumult in the audience, and Tiberius immediately went out and called an assembly of the people, designing to accuse Annius of the indignity he had offered him. Annius appeared; and knowing himself greatly inferior both in eloquence and reputation, he had recourse to his old art, and begged leave only to

* Probably from the public hall where he supped with his colleague.

ask him a question before the business came on. Tiberius consented, and silence being made, Annius said, "Would you fix a mark of disgrace and infamy upon me, if I should appeal to one of your colleagues? And if he came to my assistance, would you in your anger deprive him of his office?" It is said, that this question so puzzled Tiberius, that with all his readiness of speech and propriety of assurance, he made no manner of answer.

He therefore dismissed the assembly for the present. He perceived, however, that the step he had taken in deposing a tribune had offended not only the patricians but the people too; for by such a precedent he appeared to have robbed that high office of its dignity, which till then had been preserved in great security and honour. In consequence of this reflection, he called the commons together again, and made a speech to them, from which it may not be amiss to give an extract, by way of specimen of the power and strength of his eloquence. "The person of a tribune, I acknowledge, is sacred and inviolable, because he is consecrated to the people, and takes their interests under his protection. But when he deserts those interests, and becomes an oppressor of the people, when he retrenches their privileges, and takes away their liberty of voting, by those acts he deprives himself, for he no longer keeps to the intention, of his employment. Otherwise, if a tribune should demolish the capitol, and burn the docks and naval stores, his person could not be touched. A man who should do such things as those might still be a tribune, though a vile one; but he who diminishes the privileges of the people ceases to be a tribune of the people. Does it not shock you to think that a tribune should be able to imprison a consul, and the people not have it in their power to deprive a

tribune of his authority, when he uses it against those who gave it? For the tribunes, as well as the consuls, are elected by the people. Kingly government seems to comprehend all authority in itself, and kings are consecrated with the most awful ceremonies; yet the citizens expelled Tarquin when his administration became iniquitous; and, for the offence of one man, the ancient government, under whose auspices Rome was erected, was entirely abolished. What is there in Rome so sacred and venerable as the vestal virgins who keep the perpetual fire? Yet if any of them transgresses the rules of her order, she is buried alive. For they who are guilty of impiety against the gods lose that sacred character, which they had only for the sake of the gods. So a tribune who injures the people can be no longer sacred and inviolable on the people's account. He destroys that power in which alone his strength lay. If it is just for him to be invested with the tribunitial authority by a majority of tribes, is it not more just for him to be deposed by the suffrages of them all? What is more sacred and inviolable than the offerings in the temples of the gods? yet none pretends to hinder the people from making use of them, or removing them wherever they please. And, indeed, that the tribune's office is not inviolable or unremovable, appears from hence, that several have voluntarily laid it down, or been discharged at their own request." These were the heads of Tiberius's defence.

His friends, however, being sensible of the menaces of his enemies, and the combination to destroy him, were of opinion that he ought to make interest to get the tribuneship continued to him another year. For this purpose he thought of other laws, to secure the commonalty on his side; that for shortening the time of military service, and that

for granting an appeal from the judges to the people. The bench of judges at that time consisted of senators only, but he ordered an equal number of knights and senators; though it must be confessed, that his taking every possible method to reduce the power of the patricians savoured more of obstinacy and resentment, than of a regard for justice and the public good.

When the day came for it to be put to the vote, whether these laws should be ratified, Tiberius and his party, perceiving that their adversaries were the strongest (for all the people did not attend), spun out the time in altercations with the other tribunes; and at last he adjourned the assembly to the day following. In the meantime he entered the forum with all the ensigns of distress, and with tears in his eyes, humbly applied to the citizens, assuring them, "He was afraid that his enemies would demolish his house, and take his life before the next morning." This affected them so much, that numbers erected tents before his door, and guarded him all night.

At daybreak the person who had the care of the chickens which they use in augury, brought them, and set meat before them; but they would none of them come out of their pen, except one, though the man shook it very much; and that one would not eat*; it only raised up its left wing, and stretched out its leg, and then went in again. This put Tiberius in mind of a former ill omen. He had a helmet that he wore in battle, finely ornamented and remarkably magnificent; two serpents that had crept into it privately laid their eggs and hatched in it. Such a bad presage made him more afraid of the late one. Yet he set out for the Capitol as soon as he understood that the people were assembled

* When the chickens eat greedily, they thought it a sign of good fortune.

there. But in going out of his house he stumbled upon the threshold, and struck it with so much violence that the nail of his great toe was broken, and the blood flowed from the wound. When he had got a little on his way, he saw on his left hand two ravens fighting on the top of a house, and though he was attended, on account of his dignity, by great numbers of people, a stone which one of the ravens threw down fell close to his foot. This staggered the boldest of his partisans. But Blossius* of Cumæ, one of his train, said, "It would be an insupportable disgrace, if Tiberius the son of Gracchus, grandson of Scipio Africanus, and protector of the people of Rome, should, for fear of a raven, disappoint that people when they called him to their assistance. His enemies, he assured him, would not be satisfied with laughing at this false step; they would represent him to the commons as already taking all the insolence of a tyrant upon him."

At the same time several messengers from his friends in the Capitol came and desired him to make haste, for (they told him) every thing went there according to his wish.

At first, indeed, there was a most promising appearance. When the assembly saw him at a distance, they expressed their joy in the loudest acclamations; on his approach they received him with the utmost cordiality, and formed a circle about him to keep all strangers off. Mutius then began to call over the tribes, in order to business; but nothing could be done in the usual form, by reason of the disturbance made by the populace, who were still pressing forward. Meantime Fulvius† Flaccus, a

* In the printed text it is Blastus; but one of the manuscripts gives us Blossius, and all the translators have followed it.

† Not Flavius, as it is in the printed text.

senator, got upon an eminence, and knowing he could not be heard, made a sign with his hand, that he had something to say to Tiberius in private. Tiberius having ordered the people to make way, Flaccus with much difficulty got to him, and informed him, "That those of the landed interest had applied to the consul, while the senate was sitting, and, as they could not bring that magistrate into their views, they had resolved to despatch Tiberius themselves, and for that purpose had armed a number of their friends and slaves."

Tiberius no sooner communicated this intelligence to those about him, than they tucked up their gowns, seized the halberts with which the serjeants kept off the crowd, broke them, and took the pieces, to ward against any assault that might be made. Such as were at a distance, much surprised at this incident, asked what the reason might be; and Tiberius finding they could not hear him, touched his head with his hand, to signify the danger he was in. His adversaries, seeing this, ran to the senate, and informed them that Tiberius demanded the diadem; alleging that gesture as a proof of it.

This raised a great commotion. Nasica called upon the consul to defend the commonwealth, and destroy the tyrant. The consul mildly answered, "That he would not begin to use violence, nor would he put any citizen to death who was not legally condemned; but, if Tiberius should either persuade or force the people to decree any thing contrary to the constitution, he would take care to annul it." Upon which, Nasica started up, and said, "Since the consul gives up his country, let all who choose to support the laws follow me." So saying, he covered his head with the skirt of his robe, and then advanced to the Capitol. Those who followed him wrapped each his gown about his hand and

made their way through the crowd. Indeed, on account of their superior quality, they met with no resistance; on the contrary, the people trampled on one another to get out of their way. Their attendants had brought clubs and bludgeons with them from home, and the patricians themselves seized the feet of the benches which the populace had broken in their flight. Thus armed, they made towards Tiberius; knocking down such as stood before him. These being killed or dispersed, Tiberius likewise fled. One of his enemies laid hold on his gown; but he let it go, and continued his flight in his under garment. He happened, however, to stumble and fall upon some of the killed. As he was recovering himself, Publius Satureius, one of his colleagues, came up openly, and struck him on the head with the foot of a stool. The second blow was given him by Lucius Rufus, who afterwards valued himself upon it as a glorious exploit. Above three hundred more lost their lives by clubs and stones, but not a man by the sword.

This is said to have been the first sedition in Rome, since the expulsion of the kings, in which the blood of any citizen was shed. All the rest, though neither small in themselves, nor about matters of little consequence, were appeased by mutual concessions; the senate giving up something, on one side, for fear of the people, and the people, on the other, out of respect for the senate. Had Tiberius been moderately dealt with, it is probable that he would have compromised matters in a much easier way; and certainly he might have been reduced, without their depriving him of his life; for he had not above three thousand men about him. But, it seems, the conspiracy was formed against him, rather to satisfy the resentment and malignity of the rich, than for the reasons they held out to the public.

A strong proof of this we have in their cruel and abominable treatment of his dead body. For, notwithstanding the entreaties of his brother, they would not permit him to take away the corpse, and bury it in the night, but threw it into the river with the other carcasses. Nor was this all: they banished some of his friends without form of trial, and took others and put them to death. Among the latter was Diophanes the rhetorician. One Caius Billius they shut up in a cask with vipers and other serpents, and left him to perish in that cruel manner. As for Blossius of Cumæ, he was carried before the consuls, and being interrogated about the late proceedings, he declared, that he had never failed to execute whatever Tiberius commanded*. "What then," said Nasica, "if Tiberius had ordered thee to burn the Capitol, wouldst thou have done it?" At first he turned it off, and said, "Tiberius would never have given him such an order." But when a number repeated the same question several times, he said, "In that case I should have thought it extremely right; for Tiberius would never have laid such a command upon me, if it had not been for the advantage of the people of Rome." He escaped, however, with his life, and afterwards repaired to

* Lælius, in the treatise written by Cicero under that name, gives a different account of the matter, "Blossius," he says, "after the murder of Tiberius, came to him, whilst he was in conference with the consuls Popilius Lænas and Publius Rupilius, and earnestly begged for a pardon, alleging in his defence, that, such was his veneration for Tiberius, he could not refuse to do any thing he desired." "If then," said Lælius, "he had ordered you to set fire to the Capitol, would you have done it?" "That," replied Blossius, "he would never have ordered me; but if he had, I should have obeyed him." Blossius does not, upon this occasion, appear to have been under a judicial examination, as Plutarch represents him.

Aristonicus * in Asia; but finding that prince's affairs entirely ruined, he laid violent hands on himself.

The senate, now desirous to reconcile the people to these acts of theirs, no longer opposed the Agrarian law; and they permitted them to elect another commissioner, in the room of Tiberius, for dividing the lands. In consequence of which, they chose Publius Crassus, a relation of the Gracchi; for Caius Gracchus had married his daughter Licinia. Cornelius Nepos, indeed, says, it was not the daughter of Crassus, but of that Brutus who was honoured with a triumph for his conquests in Lusitania; but most historians give it for the former.

Névertheless, the people were still much concerned at the loss of Tiberius, and it was plain that they only waited for an opportunity of revenge. Nasica was now threatened with an impeachment. The senate, therefore, dreading the consequence, sent him into Asia, though there was no need of him there. For the people, whenever they met him, did not suppress their resentment in the least: on the contrary, with all the violence that hatred could suggest, they called him an execrable wretch, a tyrant who had defiled the holiest and most awful temple in Rome with the blood of a magistrate, whose person ought to have been sacred and inviolable.

For this reason Nasica privately quitted Italy, though by his office he was obliged to attend the

* Aristonicus was a bastard brother of Attalus; and being highly offended at him for bequeathing his kingdom to the Romans, attempted to get possession of it by arms, and made himself master of several towns. The Romans sent Crassus the consul against him, the second year after the death of Tiberius. Crassus was defeated and taken by Aristonicus. The year following, Aristonicus was defeated in his turn and taken prisoner by Perenna.

principal sacrifices, for he was chief pontiff. Thus he wandered from place to place in a foreign country, and after a while died at Pergamus. Nor is it to be wondered that the people had so unconquerable an aversion to Nasica, since Scipio Africanus himself, who seems to have been one of the greatest favourites of the Romans, as well as to have had great right to their affection, was near forfeiting all the kind regards of the people, because when the news of Tiberius's death was brought to Numantia, he expressed himself in that verse of Homer,

So perish all that in such crimes engage *.

Afterwards Caius and Fulvius asked him in an assembly of the people, what he thought of the death of Tiberius, and by his answer he gave them to understand that he was far from approving of his proceedings. Ever after this, the commons interrupted him when he spoke in public, though they had offered him no such affront before; and on the other hand, he scrupled not to treat them with very severe language. But these things we have related at large in the life of Scipio.

CAIUS GRACCHUS.

WHETHER it was that Caius Gracchus was afraid of his enemies, or wanted to make them more obnoxious to the people, at first he left the *forum*, and kept close in his own house; like one who was either sensible how much his family was reduced,

In Minerva's speech to Jupiter. *Odys. lib. 1.*

or who intended to make public business no more his object. Insomuch that some scrupled not to affirm that he disapproved and even detested his brother's administration. He was, indeed, as yet very young, not being so old as Tiberius by nine years; and Tiberius at his death was not quite thirty. However, in a short time it appeared that he had an aversion, not only to idleness and effeminacy, but to intemperance and avarice. And he improved his powers of oratory, as if he considered them as the wings on which he must rise to the great offices of state. These circumstances showed that he would not long continue inactive.

In the defence of one of his friends named Vettius, he exerted so much eloquence, that the people were charmed beyond expression, and borne away with all the transports of enthusiasm. On this occasion he showed that other orators were no more than children in comparison. The nobility had all their former apprehensions renewed, and they began to take measures among themselves to prevent the advancement of Caius to the tribunitial power.

It happened to fall to his lot to attend Orestes* the consul in Sardinia in capacity of quæstor. This gave his enemies great pleasure. Caius, however, was not uneasy on the event; for he was of a military turn, and had as good talents for the camp as for the bar. Besides, he was under some apprehension about taking a share in the administration, or of appearing upon the *rostra*, and at the same time he knew that he could not resist the importunities of the people or his friends. For these reasons he thought himself happy in the opportunity of going abroad.

* Lucius Aurelius Orestes was consul with Emilius Lepidus in the year of Rome 627. So that Caius went quæstor into Sardinia at the age of 27.

It is a common opinion, that of his own accord he became a violent demagogue, and that he was much more studious than Tiberius to make himself popular. But that is not the truth. On the contrary, it seems to have been rather necessity than choice, that brought him upon the public stage. For Cicero the orator relates, that when Caius avoided all offices in the state, and had taken a resolution to live perfectly quiet, his brother appeared to him in a dream, and thus addressed him, "Why lingerest thou, Caius? There is no alternative. The fates have decreed us both the same pursuit of life, and the same death, in vindicating the rights of the people."

In Sardinia, Caius gave a noble specimen of every virtue, distinguishing himself greatly among the other young Romans, not only in his operations against the enemy, and in acts of justice to such as submitted, but in his respectful and obliging behaviour to the general. In temperance, in simplicity of diet, and love of labour, he excelled even the veterans.

There followed a severe and sickly winter in Sardinia, and the general demanded of the cities clothing for his men. But they sent a deputation to Rome to solicit an exemption from this burden. The senate listened to their request, and ordered the general to take some other method. As he could not think of withdrawing his demands, and the soldiers suffered much in the meantime, Caius applied to the towns in person, and prevailed with them to send the Romans a voluntary supply of clothing. News of this being brought to Rome, and the whole looking like a prelude to future attempts at popularity, the senate were greatly disturbed at it. Another instance they gave of their jealousy, was in the ill reception which the ambassadors of Micipsa found, who came to

acquaint them, that the king their master, out of regard to Caius Gracchus, had sent their general in Sardinia a large quantity of corn. The ambassadors were turned out of the house; and the senate proceeded to make a decree that the private men in Sardinia should be relieved, but that Orestes should remain, in order that he might keep his quæstor with him. An account of this being brought to Caius, his anger overcame him so far that he embarked; and as he made his appearance in Rome when none expected him, he was not only censured by his enemies, but the people in general thought it singular that the quæstor should return before his general. An information was laid against him before the censors, and he obtained permission to speak for himself: which he did so effectually that the whole court changed their opinions, and were persuaded that he was very much injured. For he told them, "He had served twelve campaigns, whereas he was not obliged to serve more than ten; and that in capacity of quæstor, he had attended his general three years*, though the laws did not require him to do it more than one." He added, "That he was the only man who went out with a full purse, and returned with an empty one; while others, after having drank the wine they carried out, brought back the vessels filled with gold and silver."

After this, they brought other charges against him. They accused him of promoting disaffection among the allies, and of being concerned in the conspiracy of Fregellæ †, which was detected about that time. He cleared himself; however, of all sus-

* Great part of this speech is preserved by Aulus Gellius; but there Caius says he had been quæstor only two years. *Plinium enim fuit in provincia.* Aul. Gell. l. xii. c. 18.

† This place was destroyed by Lucius Opimius the prætor, in the year of Rome 689.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES.

plea; and having fully proved his innocence, offered himself to the people as a candidate for the tribuneship. The patricians united their forces to oppose him; but such a number of people came in from all parts of Italy to support his election, that many of them could not get lodging, and the *Campus Martius* not being large enough to contain them, gave their voices from the tops of houses.

All that the nobility could gain of the people, and all the mortification that Caius had, was this: instead of being returned first, as he had flattered himself he should be, he was returned the fourth. But when he had entered upon his office, he soon became the leading tribune, partly by means of his eloquence, in which he was greatly superior to the rest, and partly on account of the misfortunes of his family, which gave him an opportunity to bewail the cruel fate of his brother. For whatever subject he began upon, before he had done, he led the people back to that idea, and at the same time put them in mind of the different behaviour of their ancestors. "Your forefathers," said he, "declared war against the Falisci, in order to revenge the cause of Genucius, one of their tribunes, to whom that people had given scurrilous language; and they thought capital punishment little enough for Caius Veturius, because he alone did not break way for a tribune who was passing through the *forum*. But you suffered Tiberius to be despatched with bludgeons before your eyes, and his dead body to be dragged from the Capitol through the middle of the city, in order to be thrown into the river. Such of his friends, too, as fell into their hands were put to death without form of trial. Yet, by the custom of our country, if any person under a prosecution for a capital crime did not appear, an *accusator* was sent to his door in the morning, to summon him by sound of trumpet, and

the judges would never pass sentence before so public a citation. So tender were our ancestors in any matter where the life of a citizen was concerned."

Having prepared the people by such speeches as this (for his voice was strong enough to be heard by so great a multitude) he proposed two laws. One was, "That if the people deposed any magistrate, he should from that time be incapable of bearing any public office:" the other, "That if any magistrate should banish a citizen without a legal trial, the people should be authorized to take cognizance of that offence." The first of these laws plainly referred to Marcus Octavius, whom Tiberius had deprived of the tribuneship; and the second to Popilius, who, in his prætorship, had banished the friends of Tiberius. In consequence of the latter, Popilius, afraid to stand a trial, fled out of Italy. The other bill Caius dropped, to oblige, as he said, his mother Cornelia, who interposed in behalf of Octavius. The people were perfectly satisfied; for they honoured Cornelia, not only on account of her children, but of her father. They afterwards erected a statue to her with this inscription:

CORNELIA THE MOTHER OF THE GRACCHI.

There are several extraordinary expressions of Caius Gracchus handed down to us concerning his mother. To one of her enemies he said, "Darest thou pretend to reflect on Cornelia the mother of Tiberius?" And as that person had spent his youth in an infamous manner, he said, "With what front canst thou put thyself upon a footing with Cornelia? Hast thou brought children as she has done? But all Rome knows that she has lived longer than thou hast without any commerce with men." Such was the keenness of his language, and many expres-

sions equally severe might be collected out of his writings.

Among the laws which he procured, to increase the authority of the people, and lessen that of the senate, one related to colonizing* and dividing the public lands among the poor. Another was in favour of the army, who were now to be clothed at the public charge, without diminution of their pay, and none were to serve till they were full seventeen years old. A third was for the benefit of the Italian allies, who were to have the same right of voting at elections as the citizens of Rome. By a fourth the markets were regulated, and the poor enabled to buy bread-corn at a cheaper rate. A fifth related to the courts of judicature, and indeed contributed more than any thing to retrench the power of the senate: for, before this, senators only were judges in all causes, and on that account their body was formidable both to the equestrian order and to the people. But now he added three hundred knights to the three hundred senators, and decreed that a judicial authority should be equally invested in the six hundred*. In offering this bill, he exerted himself greatly in all respects, but there was one thing very remarkable: whereas the orators before him, in all addresses to the people, stood with their faces towards the senate-house and the *comitium*, he then, for the first time, turned the other way, that is to say, towards the *forum*, and continued to speak in that position ever after. Thus, by a small alteration in

* The authorities of all antiquity are against Plutarch in this article. Cæsar did not associate the knights and the senate in the judicial power; but vested that power in the knights only, and then employed it, till the consulship of Servilius Cæpio, for the space of sixteen or seventeen years. Valerius, Asconius, Appian, Livy, and Cicero himself, sufficiently prove that

the posture of his body, he indicated something very great, and, as it were turned the government from an aristocracy into a democratic form: for, by this action, he intimated, that all orators ought to address themselves to the people, and not to the senate.

As the people not only ratified this law, but empowered him to select the three hundred out of the equestrian order for judges, he found himself in a manner possessed of sovereign power. Even the senate in their deliberations were willing to listen to his advice; and he never gave them any that was not suitable to their dignity. That wise and moderate decree, for instance, was of his suggesting, concerning the corn which Fabius, when *proprætor* in Spain, sent from that country. Caius persuaded the senate to sell the corn, and send the money to the Spanish states; and at the same time to censure Fabius for rendering the Roman government odious and insupportable to the people of that country. This gained him great respect and favour in the provinces.

He procured other decrees for sending out colonies, for making roads, and for building public granaries. In all these matters he was appointed supreme director, and yet was far from thinking so much business a fatigue. On the contrary, he applied to the whole with as much activity, and despatched it with as much ease, as if there had been only one thing for him to attend to; insomuch that they who both hated and feared the man were struck with his amazing industry, and the celerity of of his operations. The people were charmed to see him followed by such numbers of architects, artificers, ambassadors, magistrates, military men, and men of letters. These were all kindly received; yet amidst his civilities he preserved a dignity, addressing each according to his capacity and station;

by which he showed how unjust the censures of those people were, who represented him as a violent and overbearing man. For he had even a more popular manner in conversation and in business than in his addresses from the *rostrum*.

The work that he took most pains with was that of the public roads; in which he paid a regard to beauty as well as use. They were drawn in a straight line through the country, and either paved with hewn stone, or made of a binding sand, brought thither for that purpose. When he met with dells or other deep holes made by land-floods, he either filled them up with rubbish, or laid bridges over them; so that being leveled and brought to a perfect parallel on both sides, they afforded a regular and elegant prospect through the whole. Besides, he divided all the roads into miles, of near eight furlongs each, and set up pillars of stone to mark the divisions. He likewise erected other stones at proper distances on each side of the way, to assist travellers, who rode without servants, to mount their horses.

The people extolled his performances, and there was no instance of their affection that he might not have expected. In one of his speeches he told them, "There was one thing in particular, which he should esteem as a greater favour than all the rest, if they indulged him in it, and if they denied it, he would not complain." By this it was imagined that he meant the consulship; and the commons expected that he would desire to be consul and tribune at the same time. When the day of election of consuls came, and all were waiting with anxiety to see what declaration he would make, he conducted Caius Egnatius into the *Capitum Martius*, and joined with his friends in the canvass. This greatly inclined the

scale on Fannius's side, and he was immediately created consul. Caius too, without the least application, or even declaring himself a candidate, merely through the zeal and affection of the people, was appointed tribune the second time.

Finding, however, that the senate avowed their aversion to him, and that the regards of Fannius grew cold, he thought of new laws which might secure the people in his interest. Such were those for sending colonies to Tarentum and Capua, and for granting the Latins all the rights and privileges of citizens of Rome. The senate now apprehending that his power would soon become entirely uncontrollable, took a new and unheard of method to draw the people from him, by gratifying them in every thing, however contrary to the true interests of the state.

Among the colleagues of Caius Gracchus there was one named Livius Drusus ; a man who in birth and education was not behind any of the Romans, and who in point of eloquence and wealth might vie with the greatest and most powerful men of his time. To him the nobility applied; exhorting him to set himself up against Caius, and join them in opposing him; not in the way of force, or in any thing that might offend the commons, but in directing all his measures to please them, and granting them things which it would have been an honour to refuse at the hazard of their utmost resentment.

Drusus agreed to list in the service of the senate, and to apply all the power of his office to their views. He therefore proposed laws, which had nothing in them either honourable or advantageous to the community. His sole view was to outdo Caius in flattery and pleasing the multitude, and for this purpose he contended with him like a comedian upon stage. Thus the senate plainly discovered, that it was not

so much the measures of Caius, as the man, they were offended with, and that they were resolved to take every method to humble or destroy him. For when he procured a decree for sending out two colonies only, which were to consist of some of the most deserving citizens, they accused him of ingratiating himself by undue methods with the plebeians: but when Drusus sent out twelve, and selected three hundred of the meanest of the people for each, they patronized the whole scheme. When Caius divided the public lands among the poor citizens, on condition that they should pay a small rent into the treasury, they inveighed against him as a flatterer of the populace; but Drusus had their praise for discharging the lands even of that acknowledgment. Caius procured the Latins the privilege of voting as citizens of Rome, and the patricians were offended; Drusus, on the contrary, was supported by them in a law, for exempting the Latin soldiers from being flogged, though upon service, for any misdemeanor. Meantime Drusus asserted, in all his speeches, that the senate, in their great regard for the commons, put him upon proposing such advantageous decrees. This was the only good thing in his manœuvres; for by these arts the people became better affected to the senate. Before, they had suspected and hated the leaders of that body; but Drusus appeased their resentment, and removed their aversion, by assuring them, that the patricians were the first movers of all these popular laws.

What contributed most to satisfy the people as to the sincerity of his regard, and the purity of his intentions, was, that Drusus, in all his edicts, appeared not to have the least view to his own interest: for he employed others as commissioners for planting the new colonies; and if there was an affair of money, he would have no concern with it himself; whereas

Caius chose to preside in the greatest and most important matters of that kind. Rubrius, one of his colleagues, having procured an order for rebuilding and colonizing Carthage, which had been destroyed by Scipio, it fell to the lot of Caius to execute that commission, and in pursuance thereof he sailed to Africa. Drusus took advantage of his absence to gain more ground upon him, and to establish himself in the favour of the people. To lay an information against Fulvius he thought would be very conducive to this end.

Fulvius was a particular friend of Caius, and his assistant in the distribution of the lands. At the same time he was a factious man, and known to be upon ill terms with the senate. Others, beside the patricians, suspected him of raising commotions among the allies, and of privately exciting the Italians to a revolt. These things, indeed, were said without evidence or proof; but Fulvius himself gave strength to the report by his unpeaceable and unsalutary conduct. Caius, as his acquaintance, came in for his share of the dislike, and this was one of the principal things that brought on his ruin.

Besides, when Scipio Africanus died without any previous sickness, and (as we have observed in his life) there appeared marks of violence upon his body, most people laid it to the charge of Fulvius, who was his avowed enemy, and had that very day abused him from the *rostrum*. Nor was Caius himself unsuspected. Yet so execrable a crime as this, committed against the first and greatest man in Rome, escaped with impunity; nay, it was not even inquired into: for the people prevented any cognizance of it from being taken, out of fear for Caius, lest upon a strict inquisition he should be found accessory to the murder. But this happened some time before.

While Caius was employed in Africa in the ex-

establishment of Carthage, the name of which he changed to *Junonia**, he was interrupted by several inauspicious omens. The staff of the first standard was broken, between the violent efforts of the wind to tear it away, and those of the ensign to hold it. Another storm of wind blew the sacrifices from the altars, and bore them beyond the bounds marked out for the city; and the wolves came and seized the marks themselves, and carried them to a great distance. Caius, however, brought every thing under good regulations in the space of seventy days, and then returned to Rome, where he understood that Fulvius was hard pressed by Drusus, and affairs demanded his presence. For Lucius Opimius†, who was of the patrician party, and very powerful in the senate, had lately been unsuccessful in his application for the consulship, through the opposition of Caius, and his support of Fannius; but now his interest was greatly strengthened, and it was thought he would be chosen the following year. It was expected too, that the consulship would enable him to ruin Caius, whose interest was already upon the decline. Indeed, by this time the people were cloyed with indulgence; because there were many beside Caius who flattered them in all the measures of administration, and the senate saw them do it with pleasure.

At his return he removed his lodgings from the Palatine Mount to the neighbourhood of the *forum*: in which he had a view to popularity; for many of

* *Quam Juno fertur terris magis omnibus unam*

Posthabita coluisse amo.—

VIRGIL.

† In the printed text it is *Hostilius*, but it should be *Opimius*; for he was consul the year following with Q. Fabius Maximus, which was the year of Rome 631. Plutarch himself calls him *Opimius* a little after. *Hostilius*, therefore, must be a false reading; and, indeed, one of the manuscripts gives us *Opimius* here.

the meanest and most indigent of the commonalty dwelt there. After this, he proposed the rest of his laws, in order to their being ratified by the suffrages of the people. As the populace came to him from all quarters, the senate persuaded the consul Fannius to command all persons to depart the city who were not Romans by birth. Upon this strange and unusual proclamation, that none of the allies or friends of the republic should remain in Rome, or, though citizens, be permitted to vote, Caius, in his turn, published articles of impeachment against the consul, and at the same time declared he would protect the allies, if they would stay. He did not, however, perform his promise. On the contrary, he suffered the consul's *lictors* to take away a person before his eyes, who was connected with him by the ties of hospitality, without giving him the least assistance; whether it was that he feared to show how much his strength was diminished, or whether (as he alleged) he did not choose to give his enemies occasion to have recourse to the sword, who only sought a pretence for it.

He happened, moreover, to be at variance with his colleagues. The reason was this: there was a show of gladiators to be exhibited to the people in the *forum*, and most of the magistrates had caused scaffolds to be erected around the place, in order to let them out for hire. Caius insisted that they should be taken down, that the poor might see the exhibition without paying for it. As none of the proprietors regarded his orders, he waited till the night preceding the show, and then went with his own workmen, and demolished the scaffolds. Next day the populace saw the place quite clear of them, and of course they admired him as a man of superior spirit. But his colleagues were greatly offended at his violent temper and measures. This seems to have been the cause

of his miscarriage in his application for a third tribuneship; for, it seems, he had a majority of voices, but his colleagues are said to have procured a fraudulent and unjust return. Be that as it may (for it was a matter of some doubt), it is certain that he did not bear his disappointment with patience; but when he saw his adversaries laugh, he told them, with too much insolence, " Their laugh was of the Sardonic* kind, for they did not perceive how much their actions were eclipsed by his."

After Opimius was elected consul, he prepared to repeal many of Caius's laws, and to annul his establishment at Carthage, on purpose to provoke him to some act of violence, and to gain an opportunity to destroy him. He bore this treatment for some time; but afterwards, at the instigation of his friends, and of Fulvius in particular, he began to raise an opposition once more against the consul. Some say, his mother on this occasion entered into the intrigues of the party, and having privately taken some strangers into pay, sent them into Rome in the disguise of reapers; and they assert that these things are enigmatically hinted at in her letters to her son. But others say, Cornelia was much displeased at these measures.

When the day came, on which Opimius was to get those laws repealed, both parties early in the morning

* It was not easy to see the propriety of this expression as it is used here. The Sardonic laugh was an involuntary distension of the muscles of the mouth, occasioned by a poisonous plant; and persons that died of this poison had a smile on their countenances. Hence it came to signify forced or affected laughter; but why the laughter of Gracchus's opponents should be called forced or Sardonic, because they did not perceive his superiority, it does not appear. It might more properly have been called affected if they did perceive it. Indeed, if every species of unreasonable laughing may be called Sardonic, it will do still.

posted themselves in the Capitol; and after the consul had sacrificed, Quintus Antyllius, one of his *lictors*, who was carrying out the entrails of the victims, said to Fulvius and his friends, "Stand off, ye factious citizens, and make way for honest men." Some add, that, along with this scurrilous language, he stretched his naked arm towards them in a form that expressed the utmost contempt. They immediately killed Antyllius with long styles, said to have been made for such a purpose.

The people were much chagrined at this act of violence. As for the two chiefs, they made very different reflections upon the event. Caius was concerned at it, and reproached his partisans with having given their enemies the handle they long had wanted. Optimus rejoiced at the opportunity, and excited the people to revenge. But for the present they were parted by a heavy rain.

At an early hour next day, the consul assembled the senate, and while he was addressing them within, others exposed the corpse of Antyllius naked on a bier without, and, as it had been previously concerted, carried it through the *forum* to the senate-house, making loud acclamations all the way. Optimus knew the whole farce, but pretended to be much surprised. The senate went out, and planting themselves about the corpse, expressed their grief and indignation, as if some dreadful misfortune had befallen them. This scene, however, excited only hatred and detestation in the breasts of the people, who could not but remember that the nobility had killed Tiberius Gracchus in the Capitol, though a tribune, and thrown his body into the river; and yet now, when Antyllius, a vile serjeant, who possibly did not deserve quite so severe a punishment, but by his impertinence had brought it upon himself—when such a bier lay exposed in the *forum*, the senate of Rome

stood weeping about him, and then attended the wretch to his funeral; with no other view than to procure the death of the only remaining protector of the people.

On their return to the house, they charged Opimius the consul, by a formal decree, to take every possible method for the preservation of the commonwealth, and the destruction of the tyrants. He therefore ordered the patricians to arms, and each of the knights to attend with two servants well armed the next morning. Fulvius, on the other hand, prepared himself, and drew together a crowd of people.

Caius, as he returned from the *forum*, stood a long time looking upon his father's statue, and after having given vent to his sorrow in some sighs and tears, retired without uttering a word. Many of the plebeians, who saw this, were moved with compassion; and declaring they should be the most dastardly of beings, if they abandoned such a man to his enemies, repaired to his house to guard him, and passed the night before his door. This they did in a very different manner from the people who attended Fulvius on the same occasion. These passed their time in noise and riot, in carousing and empty threats; Fulvius himself being the first man that was intoxicated, and giving into many expressions and actions unsuitable to his years. But those about Caius were silent, as in a time of public calamity; and, with a thoughtful regard to what was yet to come, they kept watch and took rest by turns.

Fulvius slept so sound after his wine, that it was with difficulty they awoke him at break of day. Then he and his company armed themselves with the Gallic spoils which he had brought off in his consulship, upon his conquering that people; and thus accoutred they sallied out, with loud menaces, to seize the Aventine hill. As for Caius, he would not arm, but

went out in his gown, as if he had been going upon business in the *forum*; only he had a small dagger under it.

At the gate, his wife threw herself at his feet, and taking hold of him with one hand, and of her son with the other, she thus expressed herself:—" You do not now leave me, my dear Caius, as formerly to go to the *rostra*, in capacity of tribune or lawgiver, nor do I send you out to a glorious war, where, if the common lot fell to your share, my distress might at least have the consolation of honour. You expose yourself to the murderers of Tiberius, unarmed indeed, as a man should go, who had rather suffer than commit any violence; but it is throwing away your life without any advantage to the community. Faction reigns; outrage and the sword are the only measures of justice. Had your brother fallen before Numantia, the truce would have restored us his body; but now perhaps I shall have to go a suppliant to some river or the sea, to be shown where your remains may be found. For what confidence can we have either in the laws or in the gods after the assassination of Tiberius?"

When Licinia had poured out these lamentations, Caius disengaged himself as quietly as he could from her arms, and walked on with his friends in deep silence. She caught at his gown, but in the attempt fell to the ground, and lay a long time speechless. At last her servants seeing her in that condition, took her up, and carried her to her brother Crassus.

Fulvius, when all the party was assembled, listened to the advice of Caius, and sent his younger son into the *forum*, equipped like an herald*. He was a youth of most engaging appearance, and he approached with great modesty and tears in his eyes,

* Literally, with a caduceus, or herald's wand in his hand.

to propose terms of accommodation to the consul and the senate. Many were disposed to hearken to the proposal; but Opimius said, "The criminals ought not to treat by heralds, but come in person to make their submission to the senate, and surrender themselves to justice, before they interceded for mercy." At the same time, he bade the young man return with an account that these conditions were complied with, or not return at all.

Caius was of opinion that they should go and endeavour to reconcile themselves to the senate. But as none of the rest acceded to that opinion, Fulvius sent his son again with propositions much the same. Opimius, who was in haste to begin hostilities, immediately took the young man into custody, and marched against Fulvius with a numerous body of infantry, and a company of Cretan archers. The latter galled their adversaries much, and put them in such confusion that they took to flight. Fulvius hid himself in an old neglected bath, where he was soon found and put to the sword, together with his eldest son. Caius was not seen to lift his hand in the fray. On the contrary, he expressed the greatest uneasiness at their coming to such extremities, and retired into the temple of Diana. There he would have despatched himself, but was hindered by Pomponius and Licinius, the most faithful of his friends, who took away his poniard, and persuaded him to try the alternative of flight. On this occasion he is said to have kneeled down, and with uplifted hands to have prayed to the deity of that temple, "That the people of Rome, for their ingratitude and base desertion of him, might be slaves for ever." Indeed, most of them, on promise of impunity by proclamation, openly went over to the other party.

The enemy pursued Caius with great eagerness, and came up with him at the wooden bridge. His

two friends bidding him go forward, planted themselves before it, and suffered no man to pass till they were overpowered and slain. One of his servants, named Philocrates, accompanied Caius in his flight. All encouraged him to make the best of his way, as they do a runner in the lists, but not one assisted him, or offered him a horse, though he desired it, for they saw the enemy now almost upon him*. He got, however, a little before them into a grove sacred to the *furies*†, and there closed the scene; Philocrates first despatched him, and afterwards himself. Some, indeed, say, that they both came alive into the enemy's hands, and that the slave clung so close to his master that they could not come to the one till they had cut the other in pieces. We are told also, that after a person, whose name is not mentioned, had cut off the head of Caius, and was bearing away his prize, Septimuleius, one of‡ Opimius's friends, took it from him: for at the beginning of the action, the weight in gold had been offered by proclamation either for his head, or for that of Fulvius. Septimuleius carried it to Opimius upon the point of a pike; and when put in the scales, it was found to weigh seventeen pounds eight ounces: for Septimuleius had added fraud to his other villanies; he had taken out the brain, and filled the cavity with molten lead. Those who brought in the head of Fulvius, being persons of no note, had no reward at all.

* Aurelius Victor mentions two of Caius's friends who stopped the pursuit of the enemy; Pomponius, at the *Porta Trigemina*, and Lectorius, at the *Pons Sublicius*.

† This grove was called *Lucus Furrine*, and was near the *Pons Sublicius*. The goddess had a high priest called *Flamin Furrinatis*, and annual sacrifices. Verro de Ling. l. v.

‡ Fligij and Valotus Maximus say, he was an intimate acquaintance of Gracchus's.

The bodies of Caius and Fulvius, and the rest of the slain, who were no fewer than three thousand, were thrown into the river. Their goods were confiscated and sold, and their wives forbidden to go into mourning. Licinia was, moreover, deprived of her dowry. The most savage cruelty was exercised upon the younger son of Fulvius, who had never borne arms against them, nor appeared among the combatants, but was imprisoned when he came with proposals of peace, and put to death after the battle. But neither this, nor any other instance of despotism, so sensibly touched the people, as Opimius's building a temple to CONCORD. For by that he appeared to claim honour for what he had done, and in some sort to triumph in the destruction of so many citizens. Somebody, therefore, in the night, wrote this line under the inscription on the temple :

Madness and Discord rear the fane of Concord.

Opimius was the first consul who usurped the power of a dictator, and condemned three thousand citizens, without any form of justice, beside Caius Gracchus and Fulvius Flaccus; though one of them had been honoured with the consulship and a triumph, and the other both in virtue and reputation was superior to all the men of his time.

Opimius was vile enough to suffer himself to be corrupted with money. Going afterwards ambassador to Jugurtha the Numidian, he took a bribe; and being called to account for it at his return, in a judicial way, he had the mortification to grow old with that infamy upon him. At the same time he was hated and execrated by the commons, who through his means had been reduced to an abject condition. In a little time those commons showed how deeply they regretted the Gracchi. They erect-

ed their statues in one of the most public parts of the city; they consecrated the places where they were killed, and offered to them all first-fruits according to the season of the year. Nay, many offered daily sacrifices, and paid their devotions there as in the temples of gods.

Cornelia is reported to have borne all these misfortunes with a noble magnanimity, and to have said of the consecrated places in particular, where her sons lost their lives, "That they were monuments worthy of them." She took up her residence at Misenum, and made no alteration in her manner of living. As she had many friends, her table was always open for the purposes of hospitality. Greeks and other men of letters she had always with her, and all the kings in alliance with Rome expressed their regard by sending her presents, and receiving the like civilities in return. She made herself very agreeable to her guests by acquainting them with many particulars of her father Africanus, and of his manner of living. But what they most admired in her, was, that she could speak of her sons without a sigh or a tear, and recount their actions and sufferings, as if she had been giving a narrative of some ancient heroes. Some, therefore, imagined, that age and the greatness of her misfortunes had deprived her of her understanding and sensibility. But those who were of that opinion seem rather to have wanted understanding themselves; since they knew not how much a noble mind may, by a liberal education, be enabled to support itself against distress; and that though in the pursuit of rectitude, Fortune may often defeat the purposes of VIRTUE, yet VIRTUE, in bearing affliction, can never lose her prerogative.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES.

AGIS AND CLEOMENES

COMPARED WITH

TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS.

THUS we have given the history of these great men severally, and it remains that we take a view of them in comparison with each other. Those who hated the Gracchi, and endeavoured the most to disparage them, never durst deny, that of all the Romans of their time nature had disposed them most happily to virtue, or that this disposition was cultivated by the most excellent education. But nature appears to have done still more for Agis and Cleomenes; for though they not only wanted the advantages of education, but were trained to such manners and customs as had corrupted many before them; yet they became examples of temperance and sobriety.

Besides, the Gracchi lived at a time when Rome was in her greatest glory; a time that was distinguished by a virtuous emulation; and of course they must have had a natural aversion to give up the inheritance of virtue which they had received from their ancestors. Whereas Agis and Cleomenes had had parents of very different principles, and found their country in a very diseased and unhappy state; and yet these things did not in the least abate their ardour in the pursuits of honour.

We have a strong proof of the disinterested views of the Gracchi, and their aversion to avarice, in their keeping themselves clear of all iniquitous practices in the whole course of their administration. But Agis might even have resented it, if any one

had commended him for not touching the property of others, since he distributed his whole substance among the citizens of Sparta, which, beside other considerable articles, consisted of six hundred talents in money. What a crime then must unjust gain have appeared to him, who thought it nothing less than avarice to possess more than others, though by the fairest title?

If we consider them with respect to the hardness of their enterprises, and the new regulations they wanted to establish, we shall find the two Grecians greatly superior. One of the two Romans applied himself principally to making roads and colonizing towns. The boldest attempt of Tiberius was the distribution of the public lands; and Caius did nothing more extraordinary than the joining an equal number of the equestrian order in commission with the three hundred patrician judges.

The alterations which Agis and Cleomenes brought into the system of their commonwealth were of a different nature. They saw that a small and partial amendment was no better, as Plato expresses it, than the cutting off one of the Hydra's heads*; and therefore they introduced a change that might remove all the distempers of the constitution at once. Perhaps we may express ourselves with more propriety, if we say, that, by removing the changes that had caused all their misfortunes, they brought Sparta back to its first principles.

Possibly it may not be amiss to add, that the measures the Gracchi adopted were offensive to the greatest men in Rome†; whereas, all that Agis me-

* In the fourth book of the commonwealth.

† Plutarch seems to censure the Agrarian law as an irrational one, and as the invention of the Gracchi. But, in fact, there was an Agrarian law among the institutions of Lycurgus; and the Gracchi were not the first promoters of such a law

ditated, and Cleomenes brought to bear, had the best and most respectable authorities to support it, I mean the sanction either of Lycurgus or Apollo.

What is still more considerable, by the political measures of the Gracchi, Rome made not the least acquisition of power or territory; whereas, through those of Cleomenes, Greece saw the Spartans in a little time become masters of Peloponnesus, and contending for superiority with the most powerful princes of that age: and this without any other view than to deliver Greece from the incursions of the Illyrians and Gauls, and put her once more under protection of the race of Hercules.

The different manner of the deaths of these great men appears also to me to point out a difference in their characters. The Gracchi fought with their fellow-citizens, and being defeated, perished in their flight. Agis, on the other hand, fell almost a voluntary sacrifice, rather than that any Spartan should lose his life on his account. Cleomenes, when insulted and oppressed, had recourse to vengeance; and, as circumstances did not favour him, had courage enough to give himself the fatal blow.

If we view them in another light, Agis never distinguished himself as a general; for he was killed before he had any opportunity of that kind: and with the many great and glorious victories of Cleomenes we may compare the memorable exploit of Tiberius, in being the first to scale the walls of Carthage, and his saving twenty thousand Romans, who had no other hope of life, by the peace which he happily concluded with the Numantians. As for Caius, there were many instances of his military talents both in the Numantian war, and in Sardinia. So

among the Romans. Spurius Cassius offered a bill of the same kind above two hundred years before, which proved equally fatal to him.

that the two brothers would probably one day have been ranked with the greatest generals among the Romans, had they not come to an untimely death.

As to their political abilities, Agis seems to have wanted firmness and despatch. He suffered himself to be imposed upon by Agesilaus, and performed not his promise to the citizens of making a distribution of lands. He was, indeed, extremely young; and, on that account, had a timidity which prevented the completion of those schemes that had so much raised the expectation of the public. Cleomenes, on the contrary, took too bold and too violent a method to effectuate the changes he had resolved on in the police of Sparta. It was an act of injustice to put the *ephori* to death, whom he might either have brought over to his party by force, because he was superior in arms, or else have banished, as he had done many others. For, to have recourse to the sword, except in cases of extreme necessity, indicates neither the good physician, nor the able statesman, but unskilfulness in both. Besides, in politics, that ignorance is always attended with injustice and cruelty. But neither of the Gracchi began the civil war, or dipped his hands in the blood of his countrymen. Caius, we are told, even when attacked, did not repel force with force; and, though none behaved with greater courage and vigour than he in other wars, none was so slow to lift up his hand against a fellow-citizen. He went out unarmed to a scene of fury and sedition; when the fight began, he retired; and, through the whole, appeared more solicitous to avoid the doing of harm than the receiving it. The flight, therefore, of the Gracchi must not be considered as an act of cowardice, but patriotic discretion. For they were under a necessity either of taking the method they did, or of fighting in their own defence if they staid.

The strongest charge against Tiberius is, that he deposed his colleague, and sued for a second tribuneship. Caius was blamed for the death of Antyllus; but against all reason and justice; for the fact was committed without his approbation, and he looked upon it as a most unhappy circumstance. On the other hand, Cleomenes, not to mention any more, his destroying the *ephori*, took an unconstitutional step in enfranchising all the slaves; and, in reality, he reigned alone, though, to save appearances, he took in his brother Euclidas as a partner in the throne, who was not of the other family that claimed a right to give one of the kings to Sparta. Archidamus, who was of that family, and had as much right to the throne, he persuaded to return to Messene. In consequence of this he was assassinated; and, as Cleomenes made no inquiry into the murder, it is probable that he was justly censured for the cause of it. Whereas, Lycurgus, whom he pretended to take as his pattern, freely surrendered to his nephew Charilaus, the kingdom committed to his charge; and that he might not be blamed in case of his untimely death, he went abroad and wandered a long time in foreign countries; nor did he return till Charilaus had a right to succeed him in the throne. It is true, Greece had not produced any other man who can be compared to Lycurgus.

We have shown that Cleomenes, in the course of his government, brought in greater innovations, and committed more violent acts of injustice. And those that are inclined to censure the persons of whom we are writing, represent Cleomenes as, from the first, of a tyrannical disposition, and a lover of war. The Gracchi they accuse of immoderate ambition, malignity itself not being able to find any other flaw in them. At the same time they acknowledge that

those tribunes, might possibly be carried beyond the dictates of their native disposition by anger, and the heat of contention, which, like so many hurricanes, drove them at last upon some extremes in their administration. What could be more just or more glorious than their first design, to which they would have adhered, had not the rich and great, by the violent methods they took to abrogate their law, involved them both in those fatal quarrels; the one to defend himself, and the other to revenge his brother, who was taken off without any form of law and justice.

From these observations, you may easily perceive the difference between them; and, if you require me to characterize each of them singly, I should say that the palm of virtue belongs to Tiberius; young Agis had the fewest faults; and Cleomenes, point of courage and spirit of enterprise, was inferior to Cleomenes.

DEMOSTHENES.

WHOEVER it was, my Sossius, that wrote the encomium upon Alcibiades for his victory in the chariot-race at the Olympic games; whether Euripides (which is the common opinion), or some other, he asserts, that "The first requisite to happiness is, that a man be born in a famous city." But, as to real happiness, which consists principally in the disposition and habit of the mind, for my part, I think it would make no difference though a man should be born in an inconsiderable town, or of a mother who had no advantages either of size or beauty: for it is ridiculous to suppose that Julis, a small town in the isle of Ceos, which is itself not great, and ~~which~~ which an Athenian "wanted to have taken away, as an eyesore to the Pyræus," should give birth to good poets and players*, and not be able to produce a man who might attain the virtues of justice, of contentment, and of magnanimity. Indeed, those arts, which are to gain the mastery of them considerable profit or honour, may probably not flourish in mean and insignificant towns. But virtue, like a strong and hardy plant, will take root in any place where it can find an ingenuous nature and a mind that has no aversion to labour and discipline. Therefore, if our sentiments or conduct fall short of the point they ought to reach, we must not impute it to the obscurity of the place where we were born, but to our little selves.

These reflections, however, extend not to an author, who would write a history of events which

* The poet Simonides was of Ceos; and Polus the actor was of Egina.

happened in a foreign country, and cannot be come at in his own. As he has materials to collect from a variety of books dispersed in different libraries, his first care should be to take up his residence in some populous town which has an ambition for literature. There he will meet with many curious and valuable books; and the particulars that are wanting in writers, he may, upon inquiry, be supplied with by those who have laid them up in the faithful repository of memory. This will prevent his work from being defective in any material point. As to myself, I live in a little town, and I choose to live there, lest it should become still less. When I was in Rome, and other parts of Italy, I had not leisure to study the Latin tongue, on account of the public commissions with which I was charged, and the number of people that came to be instructed by me in philosophy. It was not, therefore, till a late period in life, that I began to read the Roman authors. The process may seem strange; and yet is very true. I did not so much gain the knowledge of things by the words, as words by the knowledge I had of things. I shall only add, that, to attain such a skill in the language, as to be master of the beauty and fluency of its expressions, with its figures, its harmony, and all the other graces of its structure, would indeed be an elegant and agreeable accomplishment. But the practice and pains it requires, are more than I have time for, and I must leave the ambition to excel in that walk to younger men.

In this book, which is the fifth of our parallel, we intend to give the lives of Demosthenes and Cicero, and from their actions and political conduct, we shall collect and compare their manners and disposition; but, for the reason already assigned, we shall not pretend to examine their orations, or to

determine which of them was the more agreeable speaker; for, as Ion says,

What's the gay dolphin when he quits the waves,
And bounds upon the shore?

Cæcilius*, a writer at all times much too presumptuous, paid little regard to that maxim of the poet's, when he so boldly attempted a comparison between Demosthenes and Cicero. But perhaps the precept, *Know thyself*, would not be considered as divine, if every man could easily reduce it to practice.

It seems to me that Demosthenes and Cicero were originally formed by nature in the same mould, so great is the resemblance in their disposition. The same ambition, the same love of liberty appears in their whole administration, and the same timidity amidst wars and dangers. Nor did they less resemble each other in their fortunes. For I think it is impossible to find two other orators, who raised themselves from obscure beginnings to such authority and power; who both opposed kings and tyrants; who both lost their daughters; were banished their country, and returned with honour; were forced to fly again; were taken by their enemies, and at last expired the same hour with the liberties of their country. So that, if nature and fortune, like two artificers, were to descend upon the scene, and dispute about their work, it would be difficult to decide whether the former had produced a greater resemblance in their dispositions, or the latter in the circumstances of their lives. We shall begin with the more ancient.

Demosthenes, the father of Demosthenes, was one of the principal citizens of Athens. Theopom-

* Cæcilius was a celebrated rhetorician, who lived in the time of Augustus. He wrote a treatise on the sublime, which is mentioned by Longinus.

put ~~to this~~, he was called the *sword-cutler*, because he employed a great number of slaves in that business. As to what Æschines the orator relates concerning his mother*, that she was the daughter of one Gylon†, who was forced to fly for treason against the commonwealth, and of a barbarian woman, we cannot take upon us to say whether it was dictated by truth, or by falsehood and malignity. He had a large fortune left him by his father, who died when he was only seven years of age; the whole being estimated at little less than fifteen talents. But he was greatly wronged by his guardians, who converted part to their own use, and suffered part to lie neglected. Nay, they were vile enough to defraud his tutors of their salaries. This was the chief reason that he had not those advantages of education to which his quality entitled him. His mother did not choose that he should be put to hard and laborious exercises, on account of the weakness and delicacy of his frame; and his preceptors, being ill paid, did not press him to attend them. Indeed, from the first, he was of a slender and sickly habit, insomuch that the boys are said to have given him the contemptuous name of *Batalus*‡ for his natural defects. Some say, *Batalus* was an effeminate musician,

* In his oration against Ctesiphon.

† Gylon was accused of betraying to the enemy a town in Pontus called Nymphæum; upon which he fled into Scythia, where he married a native of the country, and had two daughters by her; one of whom was married to Philocares, and the other, named Cleobule, to Demosthenes. Her fortune was fifty talents; and of this marriage came Demosthenes the orator.

‡ Hesychius gives a different explanation of the word *Batalus*; but Plutarch must be allowed, though Dacier will not here allow him, to understand the sense of the Greek word as well as Hesychius.

whom Antiphanes ridiculed in one of his farces; others, that he was a poet whose verses were of the most wanton and licentious kind. The Athenians, too, at that time, seem to have called a part of the body *Batalus*, which decency forbids us to name. We are told, that Demosthenes had likewise the name of *Argas*, either on account of the savage and morose turn of his behaviour; for there is a sort of a serpent which some of the poets call *Argas**; or else for the severity of his expressions, which often gave his hearers pain; for there was a poet named *Argas*, whose verses were very keen and satirical. But enough of this article.

His ambition to speak in public is said to have taken its rise on this occasion. The orator Callistratus was to plead in the cause which the city of Oropus† had depending; and the expectation of the public was greatly raised both by the powers of the orator, which were then in the highest repute, and by the importance of the trial. Demosthenes hearing the governors and tutors agree among themselves to attend the trial, with much importunity prevailed on his master to take him to hear the pleadings. The master having some acquaintance with the officers who opened the court, got his young pupil a seat where he could hear the orators without being seen. Callistratus had great success, and his abilities were extremely admired. Demos-

* Hippocrates too mentions a serpent of that name.

† Oropus was a town on the banks of the Euripus, on the frontiers of Attica. The Thebans, though they had been relieved in their distress by Chabrias and the Athenians, forgot their former services, and took Oropus from them. Chabrias was suspected of treachery, and Callistratus, the orator, was retained to plead against it. Demosthenes mentions this in his oration against Phidias. At the time of this trial he was about sixteen.

thenes was fired with a spirit of emulation. When he saw with what distinction the orator was conducted home, and complimented by the people, he was struck still more with the power of that commanding eloquence which could carry all before it. From this time, therefore, he bade adieu to the other studies and exercises in which boys are engaged, and applied himself with great assiduity to declaiming, in hopes of being one day numbered among the orators. Isæus was the man he made use of as his preceptor in eloquence, though Isocrates then taught it; whether it was that the loss of his father incapacitated him to pay the sum of ten minæ*, which was that rhetorician's usual price, or whether he preferred the keen and subtle manner of Isæus, as more fit for public use.

Hermippus says he met with an account in certain anonymous memoirs that Demosthenes likewise studied under Plato †, and received great assistance from him in preparing to speak in public. He adds, that Ctesibius used to say, that Demosthenes was privately supplied by Callias the Syracusan, and some others, with the systems of rhetoric taught by

* This could not be the reason, if what is recorded in the life of Isæus be true, that he was retained as tutor to Demosthenes at the price of a hundred minæ.

† This is confirmed by Cicero in his *Brutus*. *Lectitavisse Platonem studiose, audivisse etiam Demosthenes dicitur: Idque apparet ex genere et granditate verborum.* Again, in his book *de Oratore*: *Quod idem de Demosthene existimari potest, cujus ex epistolis intelligi licet quam frequens fuerit Platonis auditor.* It is possible that Cicero in this place alludes to that letter of Demosthenes addressed to Heracliodorus, in which he thus speaks of Plato's philosophy. "Since you have espoused the doctrine of Plato, which is so distant from avarice, from artifice, and violence; a doctrine whose object is the perfection of goodness and justice! Immortal gods! when once a man has adopted this doctrine, is it possible he should deviate from truth, or entertain one selfish or ungenerous sentiment?"

Isocrates and Alcidas, and made his advantage of them.

When his minority was expired, he called his guardians to account at law, and wrote orations against them. As they found many methods of chicane and delay, he had great opportunity, as Thucydides says, to exercise his talent for the bar*. It was not without much pains and some risk that he gained his cause; and, at last, it was but a very small part of his patrimony that he could recover. By this means, however, he acquired a proper assurance and some experience; and having tasted the honour and power that go in the train of eloquence, he attempted to speak in the public debates, and take a share in the administration. As it is said of Laomedon the Orchomenian, that, by the advice of his physicians, in some disorder of the spleen, he applied himself to running, and continued it constantly a great length of way, till he had gained such excellent health and breath, that he tried for the crown at the public games, and distinguished himself in the long course: so it happened to Demosthenes, that he first appeared at the bar for the recovery of his own fortune, which had been so much embezzled; and having acquired in that cause a persuasive and powerful manner of speaking, he contested the crown, as I may call it, with the other orators before the general assembly.

However, in his first address to the people, he was laughed at and interrupted by their clamours; for the violence of his manner threw him into a confusion of periods and a distortion of his argument. Besides, he had a weakness and a stammering in

* He lost his father at the age of seven, and he was ten years in the hands of guardians. He therefore began to plead in his eighteenth year, which, as it was only in his own private affairs, was not forbidden by the laws.

his voice, and a want of breath, which caused such a distraction in his discourse, that it was difficult for the audience to understand him. At last, upon his quitting the assembly, Eunomus the Thriasian, a man now extremely old, found him wandering in a dejected condition in the Piræus, and took upon him to set him right. "You," said he, "have a manner of speaking very like that of Pericles; and yet you lose yourself but of mere timidity and cowardice. You neither bear up against the tumults of a popular assembly, nor prepare your body by exercise for the labour of the rostrum, but suffer your parts to wither away in negligence and indolence."

Another time, we are told, when his speeches had been ill received, and he was going home with his head covered, and in the greatest distress, Satyrus the player, who was an acquaintance of his, followed, and went in with him, Demosthenes lamented to him, "That, though he was the most laborious of all the orators, and had almost sacrificed his health to that application, yet he could gain no favour with the people; but drunken seamen and other unlettered persons were heard, and kept the rostrum, while he was entirely disregarded*." "You say true," answered Satyrus; "but I will soon provide a remedy, if you will repeat to me some speech in Euripides or Sophocles." When Demosthenes had done, Satyrus pronounced the same speech; and he did it with such propriety of action, and so much in character, that it appeared to the orator quite a different passage. He now understood so well how much grace and dignity action adds to the best oration, that he thought it a small matter to premeditate and compose, though with the utmost

* This was the privilege of all democratic states. Some think, that by seamen he means Demades, whose profession was that of a mariner.

care, if the pronounciation and propriety of gesture were not attended to. Upon this he built himself a subterraneous study, which remained to our times. Thither he repaired every day to form his action and exercise his voice; and he would often stay there for two or three months together, shaving one side of his head, that, if he should happen to be ever so desirous of going abroad, the shame of appearing in that condition might keep him in.

When he did go out upon a visit, or received one, he would take something that passed in conversation, some business or fact that was reported to him, for a subject to exercise himself upon. As soon as he had parted from his friends, he went to his study, where he repeated the matter in order as it passed, together with the arguments for and against it. The substance of the speeches which he heard he committed to memory, and afterwards reduced them to regular sentences and periods*, meditating a variety of corrections and new forms of expression, both for what others had said to him, and he had addressed to them. Hence it was concluded that he was not a man of much genius; and that all his eloquence was the effect of labour. A strong proof of this seemed to be, that he was seldom heard to speak any thing extempore, and though the people often called upon him by name, as he sat in the assembly, to speak to the point debated, he would not do it unless he came prepared. For this many of the orators ridiculed him; and Pytheas, in particular, told him, "That all his arguments smelled of the lamp." Demosthenes retorted sharply upon him, "Yes, indeed, but your lamp and mine, my friend, are not conscious to the same labours." To others he did not pretend to deny his previous ap-

Cicero did the same, as we find in his epistles to Atticus. Those arguments he calls *Thesis politicae*.

plication, but told them, "He neither wrote the whole of his orations, nor spoke without first committing part to writing." He farther affirmed, "That this showed him a good member of a democratic state; for the coming prepared to the rostrum was a mark of respect for the people. Whereas, to be regardless of what the people might think of a man's address, showed his inclination for oligarchy, and that he had rather gain his point by force than by persuasion." Another proof they give us of his want of confidence on any sudden occasion, is, that when he happened to be put in disorder by the tumultuary behaviour of the people, Demades often rose up to support him in an extempore address, but he never did the same for Demades.

Wherefore, then, it may be said, did Æschines call him an orator of the most admirable assurance? How could he stand up alone and refute Python the Byzantian*, whose eloquence poured against the Athenians like a torrent? And when Lamachus the Myrrhenian† pronounced at the Olympic games an encomium which he had written upon Philip and

* This was one of the most glorious circumstances in the life of Demosthenes. The fate of his country, in a great measure, depended on his eloquence. After Platea was lost, and Philip threatened to march against Athens, the Athenians applied for succours to the Boeotians. When the league was established, and the troops assembled at Chæronea, Philip sent ambassadors to the council of Boeotia, the chief of whom was Python, one of the ablest orators of his time. When he had inveighed with all the powers of eloquence against the Athenians and their cause, Demosthenes answered him, and carried the point in their favour. He was so elevated with this victory, that he mentions it in one of his orations in almost the same terms that Plutarch has used here.

† If we suppose this Lamachus to have been of Attica, the text should be altered from *Myrrhæan* to *Myrrhæusian*; for *Myrrhæus* was a borough of Attica. But there was a town called *Myrrhine* in *Æolia*, and another in *Lemnos*, and probably Lamachus was of one of these.

Alexander, and in which he had asserted many severe and reproachful things against the Thebans and Olynthians, how could Demosthenes rise up and prove, by a ready deduction of facts, the many benefits for which Greece was indebted to the Thebans and Chalsidians, and the many evils that the flatterers of the Macedonians had brought upon their country? This, too, wrought such a change in the minds of the great audience, that the sophist, his antagonist, apprehending tumult, stole out of the assembly.

Upon the whole, it appears, that Demosthenes did not take Pericles entirely for his model. He only adopted his action and delivery, and his prudent resolution not to make a practice of speaking from a sudden impulse, or on any occasion that might present itself; being persuaded, that it was to that conduct he owed his greatness. Yet, while he chose not often to trust the success of his powers to fortune, he did not absolutely neglect the reputation which may be acquired by speaking on a sudden occasion. And, if we believe Eratosthenes, Demetrius the Phalerian, and the comic poets, there was a greater spirit and boldness in his unpremeditated orations than in those he had committed to writing. Eratosthenes says, that, in his extemporaneous harangues, he often spoke as from a supernatural impulse; and Demetrius tells us, that, in an address to the people, like a man inspired, he once uttered this oath in verse,

By earth, by all her fountains, streams, and floods.

One of the comic writers calls him *Rhopoperperethras**, and another, ridiculing his frequent use of the antithesis, says, "As he took, so he retook." For Demosthenes affected to use that expression.

* A haberdasher of smallwares, or something like it.

Possibly, Antiphanes played upon that passage in the oration concerning the *isle of Halonesus*, in which Demosthenes advised the Athenians "not to take, but to retake it from Philip *."

It was agreed, however, on all hands, that Demades excelled all the orators when he trusted to nature only; and that his sudden effusions were superior to the laboured speeches of Demosthenes. Aristo of Chios gives us the following account of the opinion of Theophrastus concerning these orators. Being asked in what light he looked upon Demosthenes as an orator, he said, "I think him worthy of Athens:" what of Demades, "I think him above it." The same philosopher relates of Polyeuctus the Sphettian, who was one of the principal persons in the Athenian administration at that time, that he called "Demosthenes the greatest orator, and Phocion the most powerful speaker;" because the latter comprised a great deal of sense in a few words. To the same purpose, we are told, that Demosthenes himself, whenever Phocion got up to oppose him, used to say to his friends, "Here comes the pruning-hook of my periods." It is uncertain, indeed, whether Demosthenes referred to Phocion's manner of speaking, or to his life and character. The latter might be the case, because he knew that a word or a nod from a man of superior character is more regarded than the long discourses of another.

As for his personal defects, Demetrius the Phalerian gives us an account of the remedies he applied to them; and he says he had it from Democ-

There is an expression something like what Plutarch has quoted, about the beginning of that oration. Libanius suspects the whole of that oration to be spurious; but this railery of the poet on Demosthenes, seems to prove that it was of his hand.

thenes in his old age. The hesitation and stammering of his tongue he corrected by practising to speak with pebbles in his mouth; and he strengthened his voice by running or walking up hill; and pronouncing some passage in an oration or a poem, during the difficulty of breath which that caused. He had, moreover, a looking-glass in his house, before which he used to declaim, and adjust all his motions.

It is said, that a man came to him one day, and desired him to be his advocate against a person from whom he had suffered by assault. "Not you, indeed," said Demosthenes, "you have suffered no such thing." "What!" said the man, raising his voice; "have I not received those blows?" "Ay, now," replied Demosthenes, "you do speak like a person that has been injured." So much, in his opinion, do the tone of voice and the action contribute to gain the speaker credit in what he affirms.

His action pleased the commonalty much; but people of taste (among whom was Demetrius the Phalerean) thought there was something in it low, inelegant, and unmanly. Hermippus acquaints us, that Æsion being asked his opinion of the ancient orators and those of that time, said, "Whoever has heard the orators of former times must admire the decorum and dignity with which they spoke. Yet, when we read the orations of Demosthenes, we must allow they have more art in the composition and greater force." It is needless to mention, that in his written orations, there was something extremely cutting and severe; but, in his sudden repartees, there was also something of humour*. When Demades said, "Demosthenes to me! a sow to Minerva;" our orator made answer, "This Minerva was found the other day playing the whore in Co-

* Longinus will not allow him the least excellence in manner of humour or pleasantry. Cap. xxviii.

lyttus." When a rascal, surnamed *Chalchus**, attempted to jest upon his late studies and long watchings, he said, "I know my lamp offends thee. But you need not wonder, my countrymen, that we have so many robberies, when we have thieves of brass, and walls only of clay." Though more of his sayings might be produced, we shall pass them over, and go on to seek the rest of his manners and character, in his actions and political conduct.

He tells us himself, that he entered upon public business in the time of the Phocian war†; and the same may be collected from his *Philippics*. For some of the last of them were delivered after that war was finished; and the former relate to the immediate transactions of it. It appears also, that he was two and thirty years old, when he was preparing his oration against *Midias*; and yet, at that time, he had attained no name or power in the administration. This, indeed, seems to be the reason of his dropping the prosecution for a sum of money. For,

— no prayer, no moving art
E'er tempt that fierce, inexorable heart. *Pope.*

He was vindictive in his nature, and implacable in his resentments. He saw it a difficult thing, and out of the reach of his interest, to pull down a man so well supported on all sides, as *Midias*, by wealth and friends; and therefore he listened to the application in his behalf. Had he seen any hopes or possibility of crushing his enemy, I cannot think that three thousand *drachmas* could have disarmed his anger.

He had a glorious subject for his political ambition, to defend the cause of Greece against *Philip*.

That is, *Brass*.

† In the one hundred and sixth olympiad, five hundred and thirty-three years before the Christian era. Demosthenes was then in his twenty-seventh year.

He defended it like a champion worthy of such a charge, and soon gained great reputation both for eloquence and for the bold truths which he spoke. He was admired in Greece, and courted by the king of Persia. Nay, Philip himself had a much higher opinion of him than the other orators; and his enemies acknowledged that they had to contend with a great man. For Æschines and Hyperides, in their very accusations, give him such a character.

I wonder, therefore, how Theopompus could say that he was a man of no steadiness, who was never long pleased either with the same persons or things. For, on the contrary, it appears, that he abode by the party and the measures which he first adopted; and was so far from quitting them during his life, that he forfeited his life rather than he would forsake them. Demades, to excuse the inconsistency of his public character, used to say, "I may have asserted things contrary to my former sentiments, but not any thing contrary to the true interest of the commonwealth." Melanopus, who was of the opposite party to Callistratus, often suffered himself to be bought off, and then said, by way of apology, to the people, "It is true, the man is my enemy, but the public good is an overruling consideration." And Nicodemus the Messenian, who first appeared strong in the interest of Cassander, and afterwards in that of Demetrius, said, "He did not contradict himself, for it was always the best way to listen to the strongest." But we have nothing of that kind to allege against Demosthenes. He was never a timeserver either in his words or actions. The key of politics, which he first touched, he kept to without variation.

Plutarchus, the philosopher, asserts, that most of his orations are written upon this principle, that virtue is to be chosen for her own sake only; that, for instance, *of the crown, that against Aristocrates, that*

for the immunities, and the *Philippics*. In all these orations, he does not exhort his countrymen to that which is most agreeable, or easy, or advantageous; but points out honour and propriety as the first objects, and leaves the safety of the state as a matter of inferior consideration. So that, if, beside that noble ambition which animated his measures, and the generous turn of his addresses to the people, he had been blest with the courage that war demands, and had kept his hands clean of bribes, he would not have been numbered with such orators as Mirocles, Polyeuctus and Hyperides, but have deserved to be placed in a higher sphere with Cymon, Thucydides, and Pericles.

Among those who took the reins of government, after him, Phocion, though not of the party in most esteem, I mean that which seemed to favour the Macedonians; yet, on account of his probity and valour, did not appear at all inferior to Ephialtes, Aristides, and Cimon. But Demosthenes had neither the courage that could be trusted in the field, nor was he, as Demetrius expresses it sufficiently fortified against the impressions of money. Though he bore up against the assaults of corruption from Philip and the Macedonians, yet he was taken by the gold of Susa and Ecbatana. So that he was much better qualified to recommend, than to imitate, the virtues of our ancestors. It must be acknowledged, however, that he excelled all the orators of his time, except Phocion, in his life and conversation. And we find in his orations, that he told the people the boldest truths, that he opposed their inclinations, and corrected their errors with the greatest spirit and freedom. Theopompus also acquaints us, that, when the Athenians were for having him manager of a certain impeachment, and insisted upon it in a tumultuary manner, he would not comply, but rose up and said,

"My friends, I will be your counsellor, whether you will or no; but a false accuser I will not be, how much soever you may wish it." His behaviour in the case of Antipho, was of the aristocratic cast*. The people had acquitted him in the general assembly; and yet he carried him before the *areopagus*; where, without regarding the offence it might give the people, he proved that he had promised Philip to burn the arsenal; upon which he was condemned by the council, and put to death. He likewise accused the priestess Theoris of several misdemeanours; and, among the rest, of her teaching the slaves many arts of imposition. Such crimes, he insisted, were capital; and she was delivered over to the executioner.

Demosthenes is said to have written the oration for Apollodorus, by which he carried his cause against the general Timotheus, in an action of debt to the public treasury; as also those others against Phormio and Stephanus; which was a just exception against his character. For he composed the oration which Phormio had pronounced against Apollodorus. This, therefore, was like furnishing two enemies with weapons out of the same shop to fight one another. He wrote some public orations for others, before he had any concern in the administration himself, namely, those against Androtion, Timocrates and Aristocrates. For it appears that he was only twenty-seven or twenty-eight years of age when he published those orations. That against Aristogiton, and that for the immunities, he delivered himself, at the request, as he says, of Ctesippus the son of Chabrias; though others tell us, it was because he paid his addresses to the young man's mother. He did not, however, marry her; for his wife was a woman

of Samos, as Demetrius the Magnesian informs us, in his account of persons of the same name. It is uncertain, whether that against Æschines, *for betraying his trust as ambassador**, was ever spoken; though Idomeneus affirms that Æschines was acquitted only by thirty votes. This seems not to be true, at least so far as may be conjectured from both their orations *concerning the crown*. For neither of them expressly mentions it as a cause that ever came to trial. But this is a point which we shall leave for others to decide.

Demosthenes, through the whole course of his political conduct, left none of the actions of the king of Macedon undisparaged. Even in time of peace, he laid hold on every opportunity to raise suspicions against him among the Athenians, and to excite their resentment. Hence Philip looked upon him as a person of the greatest importance in Athens; and when he went with nine other deputies to the court of that prince, after having given them all audience, he answered the speech of Demosthenes with greater care than the rest. As to other marks of honour and respect, Demosthenes had not an equal share in them; they were bestowed principally upon Æschines and Philocrates. They, therefore, were large in the esteem of Philip on all occasions; and they insisted, in particular, on his eloquence, his beauty, and even his being able to drink a great quantity of liquor. Demosthenes, who could not bear to hear him praised, turned these things off as trifles. "The first," he said, "was the property of a sophist, the second of a woman, and the third of a sponge; and not one of them could do any credit to a king."

* In this oration, Demosthenes accused Æschines of many capital crimes committed in the embassy on which he was sent to oblige Philip to swear to the articles of peace. Both that oration, and the answer of Æschines, are still extant.

Afterwards it appeared, that nothing was to be expected but war; for, on the one hand, Philip knew not how to sit down in tranquillity; and, on the other, Demosthenes inflamed the Athenians. In this case, the first step the orator took was, to put the people upon sending an armament to Eubœa, which was brought under the yoke of Philip by its petty tyrants. Accordingly he drew up an edict, in pursuance of which they passed over to that peninsula, and drove out the Macedonians. His second operation was the sending succours to the Byzanthians and Perinthians, with whom Philip was at war. He persuaded the people to drop their resentment, to forget the faults which both those nations had committed in the confederate war, and to send a body of troops to their assistance. They did so, and it saved them from ruin. After this, he went ambassador to the states of Greece; and, by his animating address, brought them almost all to join in the league against Philip. Beside the troops of the several cities, they took an army of mercenaries, to the number of fifteen thousand foot and two thousand horse, into pay, and readily contributed to the charge. Theophrastus tells us, that, when the allies desired their contributions might be settled, Crobylus the orator answered, "That war could not be brought to any set diet."

The eyes of all Greece were now upon these movements; and all were solicitous for the event. The cities of Eubœa, the Achæans, the Corinthians, the Megarensians, the Leucadians, the Corcyræans, had each severally engaged for themselves against the Macedonians. Yet the greatest work remained for Demosthenes to do; which was to bring the Thebans over to the league. Their country bordered upon Attica; they had a great army on foot, and were then reckoned the best soldiers in Greece. But they had recent obligations to Philip in the Phocion war, and

therefore it was not easy to draw them from him; especially when they considered the frequent quarrels and acts of hostility in which their vicinity to Athens engaged them.

Meantime Philip, elated with his success at Amphissa, surprised Elatea, and possessed himself of Phocis. The Athenians were struck with astonishment, and not one of them durst mount the *rostrum*: no one knew what advice to give; but a melancholy silence reigned in the city. In this distress Demosthenes alone stood forth, and proposed, that application should be made to the Thebans. He likewise animated the people in his usual manner, and inspired them with fresh hopes; in consequence of which he was sent ambassador to Thebes, some others being joined in commission with him. Philip too, on his part, as Maryas informs us, sent Amyntus and Clearchus, two Macedonians, Doachus the Thessalian, and Thrasidæus the Elean, to answer the Athenian deputies. The Thebans were not ignorant what way their true interest pointed; but each of them had the evils of war before his eyes; for their Phocian wounds were still fresh upon them. However, the powers of the orator, as Theopompus tells us, rekindled their courage and ambition so effectually that all other objects were disregarded. They lost sight of fear, of caution, of every prior attachment, and, through the force of his eloquence, fell with enthusiastic transports into the path of honour.

So powerful, indeed, were the efforts of the orator that Philip immediately sent ambassadors to Athens to apply for peace. Greece recovered her spirits, whilst he stood waiting for the event; and not only the Athenian generals, but the governors of Boeotia, were ready to execute the commands of Demosthenes. All the assemblies, as well those of Thebes, as those of Athens, were under his direction: he was equally

beloved, equally powerful in both places; and, as Theopompus shows, it was no more than his merit claimed. But the superior power of fortune, which seems to have been working a revolution, and drawing the liberties of Greece to a period at that time, opposed and baffled all the measures that could be taken. The deity discovered many tokens of the approaching event. Among the rest, the priestess of Apollo delivered dreadful oracles; and an old prophecy from the Sibylline books was then much repeated.—

Far from Thermodon's banks, when, stain'd with blood,
Bœotia trembles o'er the crimson flood,
On eagle pinions let me pierce the sky,
And see the vanquish'd weep, the victor die!

This Thermodon, they say, is a small river in our country near Chæronea, which falls into the Cephissus. At present we know no river of that name; but we conjecture that the Hæmon which runs by the temple of Hercules, where the Greeks encamped, might then be called Thermodon; and the battle having filled it with blood and the bodies of the slain, it might, on that account, change its appellation. Duris, indeed, says, that Thermodon was not a river, but that some of the soldiers, as they were pitching their tents, and opening the trenches, found a small statue, with an inscription, which signified, that the person represented was Thermodon holding a wounded Amazon in his arms. He adds, that there was another oracle on the subject, much taken notice of at that time.—

——— Fell bird of prey,
Wait thou the plenteous harvest which the sword
Will give thee on Thermodon.

But it is hard to say what truth there is in these accounts.

As to Demosthenes, he is said to have had much

confidence in the Grecian arms, and to have been so much elated with the courage and spirit of so many brave men calling for the enemy, that he would not suffer them to regard any oracles or prophecies. He told them, that he suspected the prophetess herself of *Philippizing*. He put the Thebans in mind of Epaminondas, and the Athenians of Pericles, how they reckoned such things as mere prettexts of cowardice, and pursued the plan which their reason had dictated. Thus far Demosthenes acquitted himself like a man of spirit and honour. But in the battle, he performed nothing worthy of the glorious things he had spoken. He quitted his post; he threw away his arms; he fled in the most infamous manner; and was not ashamed, as Pytheas says, to bely the inscription, which he had put upon his shield in golden characters, TO GOOD FORTUNE.

Immediately after the victory, Philip, in the elation of his heart, committed a thousand excesses. He drank to intoxication, and danced over the dead, making a kind of song of the first part of the decree which Demosthenes had procured, and beating time to it—*Demosthenes the Pæanean, son of Demosthenes, has decreed*. But when he came to be sober again, and considered the dangers with which he had lately been surrounded, he trembled to think of the prodigious force and power of that orator, who had obliged him to put both empire and life on the cast of a day, on a few hours of that day.

The fame of Demosthenes reached the Persian court; and the king wrote letters to his lieutenants, commanding them to supply him with money, and

While the orator contributed to bring him to the right reason, when he told him with such distinguished manner, "That fortune had placed him in the character of cannon, but that he chose to play the part of Ther-

attended to him more than to any other man in Greece, because he best knew how to make a diversion in his favour, by raising fresh troubles, and finding employment for the Macedonian arms nearer home. This Alexander afterwards discovered by the letters of Demosthenes which he found at Sardis, and the papers of the Persian governors expressing the sums which had been given him.

When the Greeks had lost this great battle, those of the contrary faction attacked Demosthenes, and brought a variety of public accusations against him. The people, however, not only acquitted him, but treated him with the same respect as before, and called him to the helm again, as a person whom they knew to be a well wisher to his country. So that, when the bones of those who fell at Chæronea were brought home to be interred, they pitched upon Demosthenes to make the funeral oration. They were, therefore, so far from bearing their misfortune in a mean and ungenerous manner as Theopompus, in a tragical strain, represents it; that, by the great honour they did the counsellor, they showed they did not repent of having followed his advice.

Demosthenes accordingly made the oration. But, after this, he did not prefix his own name to his edicts, because he considered fortune as inauspicious to him; but sometimes that of one friend, sometimes that of another, till he recovered his spirits upon the death of Philip: for that prince did not long survive his victory at Chæronea; and his fate seemed to be presignified in the last of the verses above quoted:

And see the vanquish'd weep, the victor die.

Demosthenes had secret intelligence of Philip; and, in order to prepossess the people with hopes of some good success to come, he

ed the assembly with a gay countenance, pretending he had seen a vision which announced something great for Athens. Soon after, messengers came with an account of Philip's death. The Athenians immediately offered sacrifices of acknowledgment to the gods for so happy an event, and voted a crown for Pausanias, who killed him. Demosthenes, on this occasion, made his appearance in magnificent attire, and with a garland on his head, though it was only the seventh day after his daughter's death, as Æschines tells us, who, on that account, reproaches him as an unnatural father. But he must himself have been of an ungenerous and effeminate disposition, if he considered tears and lamentations as marks of a kind and affectionate parent, and condemned the man who bore such a loss with moderation.

At the same time, I do not pretend to say the Athenians were right in crowning themselves with flowers, or in sacrificing, upon the death of a prince who had behaved to them with so much gentleness and humanity in their misfortunes: for it was a meanness, below contempt, to honour him in his life, and admit him a citizen; and yet, after he was fallen by the hands of another, not to keep their joy within any bounds, but to insult the dead, and sing triumphal songs, as if they had performed some extraordinary act of valour.

I commend Demosthenes, indeed, for leaving the tears and other instances of mourning, which his domestic misfortunes might claim, to the women, and going about such actions as he thought conducive to the welfare of his country; for I think a man of less and other abilities as a statesman are, should always have the common concern, and look upon his private accidents or considerations much inferior to the pub-

lic. In consequence of which, he will be much more careful to maintain his dignity than actors who personate kings and tyrants; and yet ~~these~~, we see, neither laugh nor weep according to the dictates of their own passions, but as they are directed by the subject of the drama. It is universally acknowledged that we are not to abandon the unhappy to their sorrows, but to endeavour to console them by rational discourse, or by turning their attention to more agreeable objects; in the same manner as we desire those who have weak eyes, to turn them from bright and dazzling colours, to green, or others of a softer kind. And what better consolation can there be under domestic afflictions, than to attemper and alleviate them with the public success; so that, by such a mixture, the bad may be corrected by the good. These reflections we thought proper to make, because we have observed that this discourse of *Æschines* has weakened the minds of many persons, and put them upon indulging all the effeminacy of sorrow.

Demosthenes now solicited the states of Greece again, and they entered once more into the league. The Thebans, being furnished with arms by Demosthenes, attacked the garrison in their citadel, and killed great numbers; and the Athenians prepared to join them in the war. Demosthenes mounted the *rostrum* almost every day; and he wrote to the king of Persia's lieutenants in Asia, to invite them to commence hostilities from that quarter against Alexander, whom he called a *boy*, a second *Margites**.

But when Alexander had settled the affairs of his own country, and marched into *Bœotia* with forces, the pride of the Athenians was and the spirit of Demosthenes died awa

* *Horace* wrote a satire against this *Margites*, to have been a very contemptible character.

deserted the Thebans ; and that unhappy people had to stand the whole fury of the war by themselves ; in consequence of which they lost their city. The Athenians were in great trouble and confusion ; and they could think of no better measure, than the sending Demosthenes, and some others, ambassadors to Alexander. But Demosthenes dreading the anger of that monarch, turned back at Mount Cithæron, and relinquished his commission. Alexander immediately sent deputies to Athens, who (according to Idomeneus and Duris) demanded that they would deliver up ten of their orators. But the greatest part, and those the most reputable of the historians say, that he demanded only these eight, Demosthenes, Polyeuctus, Ephialtes, Lycurgus, Myrocles, Damon, Calisthenes, and Charidemus. On this occasion, Demosthenes addressed the people in the fable of the sheep, who were to give up their dogs to the wolves, before they would grant them peace : by which he insinuated, that he and the other orators were the guards of the people, as the dogs were of the flock ; and that Alexander was the great wolf they had to treat with. And again : “ As we see merchants carrying about a small sample in a dish, by which they sell large quantities of wheat ; so you, in us, without knowing it, deliver up the whole body of citizens.” These particulars we have from Aristobulus of Cassandria.

The Athenians deliberated upon the point in full assembly ; and Demades seeing them in great perplexity, offered to go alone to the king of Macedon, and intercede for the orators, on condition that each of them would give him five talents ; whether it was that he depended upon the friendship that prince had for him, or whether he hoped to find him, like a lion, satiated with blood, he succeeded, however, in

his application for the orators, and reconciled Alexander to the city.

When Alexander returned to Macedon, the reputation of Demades, and the other orators of his party, greatly increased; and that of Demosthenes gradually declined. It is true, he raised his head a little, when Agis, king of Sparta, took the field; but it soon fell again; for the Athenians refused to join him, Agis was killed in battle, and the Lacedæmonians entirely routed.

About this time*, the affair concerning the crown, came again upon the carpet. The information was first laid under the archonship of Chæronidas; and the cause was not determined till ten years after, under Aristophon. It was the most complicated cause that ever was pleaded, as well on account of the reputation of the orators, as the generous behaviour of the judges: for, though the prosecutors of Demosthenes were then in great power, as being entirely in the Macedonian interest, the judges would not give their voices against him; but, on the contrary, acquitted him so honourably that Æschines had not a fifth part of the suffrages†. Æschines immediately quitted Athens, and spent the rest of his days in teaching rhetoric at Rhodes and in Ionia.

* Demosthenes rebuilt the walls of Athens at his own expense; for which the people, at the motion of Ctesiphon, decreed him a crown of gold. *This excited the envy and jealousy of Æschines, who thereupon brought that famous impeachment against Demosthenes, which occasioned his imitable oration *de Corona*.

† Plutarch must be mistaken here. It does not appear upon the slightest calculation, to have been more than eight years.

‡ This was a very ignominious circumstance; for if the accuser had not a fifth part of the suffrages, he was fined a thousand drachmas.

It was not long after this that Harpalus came from Asia to Athens*. He had fled from the service of Alexander, both because he was conscious to himself of having falsified his trust, to minister to his pleasures, and because he dreaded his master, who now was become terrible to his best friends. As he applied to the people of Athens for shelter, and desired protection for his ships and treasures, most of the orators had an eye upon the gold, and supported his application with all their interest. Demosthenes at first advised them to order Harpalus off immediately, and to be particularly careful not to involve the city in war again, without any just or necessary cause.

Yet a few days after, when they were taking an account of the treasure, Harpalus perceiving that Demosthenes was much pleased with one of the king's cups, and stood admiring the workmanship and fashion, desired him to take it in his hand, and feel the weight of the gold. Demosthenes being surprised at the weight, and asking Harpalus how much it might bring, he smiled and said, "It will bring you twenty talents." And as soon as it was night, he sent him the cup with that sum. For Harpalus knew well enough how to distinguish a man's passion for gold, by his pleasure at the sight, and the keen looks he cast upon it. Demosthenes could not resist the temptation: it made all the impression upon him that was expected; he received the money, like a garrison, into his house, and went over to the

* Harpalus had the charge of Alexander's treasure in Babylon; and, flattering himself that he would never return from his Indian expedition, he gave into all manner of crimes and excesses. At last, when he found that Alexander was really returning, and that he took a severe notice of such people as himself, he thought proper to march off with 5000 talents, and 6000 men, into Attica.

interest of Harpalus. Next day he came into the assembly with a quantity of wool and bandages about his neck; and when the people called upon him to get up and speak, he ~~made~~ signs that he had lost his voice. Upon which some that were by said, "it was no common hoarseness that he had got in the night; it was a hoarseness occasioned by swallowing gold and silver." Afterwards, when all the people were apprized of his taking the bribe, and he wanted to speak in his own defence, they would not suffer him, but raised a clamour, and expressed their indignation. At the same time, somebody or other stood up and said sneeringly, "Will you not listen to the man with the cup *?" The Athenians then immediately sent Harpalus off; and, fearing they might be called to account for the money with which the orators had been corrupted, they made a strict inquiry after it, and searched all their houses, except that of Callicles, the son of Arenides; whom they spared, as Theopompus says, because he was newly married, and his bride was in his house.

At the same time Demosthenes, seemingly with a design to prove his innocence, moved for an order, that the affair should be brought before the court of Areopagus, and all persons punished who should be found guilty of taking bribes. In consequence of which, he appeared before that court, and was one of the first that were convicted. Being sentenced to pay a fine of fifty talents, and to be imprisoned till it was paid, the disgrace of his conviction, and the weakness of his constitution, which could not bear close confinement, determined him to fly; and this he did, undiscovered by some, and assisted by

* This alludes to a custom of the ancients at their feasts; wherein it was usual for the cup to pass from hand to hand; and the person who held it sung a song, to which the rest gave attention.

others. It is said, that when he was not far from the city, he perceived some of his late adversaries following*, and endeavoured to hide himself. But they called to him by name; and when they came nearer, desired him to take some necessary supplies of money, which they had brought with them for that purpose. They assured him, they had no other design in following; and exhorted him to take courage. But Demosthenes gave into more violent expressions of grief than ever, and said, "What comfort can I have, when I leave enemies in this city more generous than it seems possible to find friends in any other?" He bore his exile in a very weak and effeminate manner. For the most part, he resided in Ægina or Trœzene; where, whenever he looked towards Attica, the tears fell from his eyes. In his expressions there was nothing of a rational firmness; nothing answerable to the bold things he had said and done in his administration. When he left Athens, we are told, he lifted up his hands towards the citadel, and said, "O Minerva, goddess of those towers, whence is it that thou delightest in three such monsters as an owl, a dragon, and the people?" The young men who resorted to him for instruction, he advised, by no means, to meddle with affairs of state. He told them, "That, if two roads had been shown him at first, the one leading to the *rostrum* and the business of the assembly, and the other to certain destruction; and he could have foreseen the evils that awaited him in the political walk, the fears, the envy, the calumny, and conten-

* It is recorded by Phocius, that *Æschines*, when he left Athens, was followed in like manner, and assisted by Demosthenes; and that, when he offered him consolation, he made the same answer. Plutarch likewise mentions this circumstance in the lives of the ten orators.

tion; he would have chosen that road which led to immediate death."

During the exile of Demosthenes, Alexander died*. The Greek cities once more combining upon that event, Leosthenes performed great things; and, among the rest, drew a line of circumvallation around Antipater, whom he had shut up in Lamia. Pytheas the orator, with Callimedon and Carabus, left Athens, and, going over to Antipater, accompanied his friends and ambassadors in their applications to the Greeks, and in persuading them not to desert the Macedonian cause, nor listen to the Athenians. On the other hand, Demosthenes joined the Athenian deputies, and exerted himself greatly with them in exhorting the states to fall with united efforts upon the Macedonians, and drive them out of Greece. Phylarchus tells us, that, in one of the cities of Arcadia, Pytheas and Demosthenes spoke with great acrimony; the one in pleading for the Macedonians, and the other for the Greeks. Pytheas is reported to have said, "As some sickness is always supposed to be in the house into which ass's milk is brought; so the city, which an Athenian embassy ever enters, must necessarily be in a sick and decaying condition." Demosthenes turned the comparison against him, by saying, "As ass's milk never enters but for curing the sick; so the Athenians never appear but for remedying some disorder."

The people of Athens were so much pleased with this repartee, that they immediately voted for the recall of Demosthenes. It was Damon the Prænean, cousin-german to Demosthenes, who drew up the decree. A galley was sent to fetch him from Ægina;

* Olymp. cxiv. Demosthenes was then in his fifty-eighth year.

and when he came up from the Piræus to Athens, the whole body of citizens went to meet and congratulate him on his return; insomuch that there was neither a magistrate nor priest left in the town. Demetrius of Magnesia acquaints us, that Demosthenes lifted up his hands towards heaven in thanks for that happy day. "Happier, said he, is my return than that of Alcibiades. It was through compulsion that the Athenians restored him, but me they have recalled from a motive of kindness."

The fine, however, still remained due: for they could not extend their grace so far as to repeal his sentence. But they found out a method to evade the law, while they seemed to comply with it. It was the custom, in the sacrifices to Jupiter the preserver, to pay the persons who prepared and adorned the altars. They, therefore, appointed Demosthenes to this charge; and ordered that he should have fifty talents for his trouble, which was the sum his fine amounted to.

But he did not long enjoy his return to his country. The affairs of Greece soon went to ruin. They lost the battle of Crano in the month of August*, a Macedonian garrison entered Munychia in September†, and Demosthenes lost his life in October‡.

It happened in the following manner. When news was brought that Antipater and Craterus were coming to Athens, Demosthenes and those of his party hastened to get out privately before their arrival. Hereupon, the people, at the motion of Demades, condemned them to death. As they fled different ways Antipater sent a company of soldiers about the country to seize them. Archias, surnamed *Phugadothoras*, or the *exhile hunter*, was their captain. It is said he was a native of Thurium, and

Μεγίστην.

† Βοῦδρονίαν.

‡ Πυλαίον.

had been some time a tragedian ; they add, that Polus of Ægina, who excelled all the actors of his time, was his scholar. Hermippus reckons Archias among the disciples of Lacritus the rhetorician ; and Demetrius says he spent some time at the school of Anaximenes. This Archias, however, drew Hyperides the orator, Aristonicus of Marathon, and Himeræus, the brother of Demetrius the Phalerean, out of the temple of Æacus in Ægina, where they had taken refuge, and sent them to Antipater at Cleonæ. There they were executed ; and Hyperides is said to have first had his tongue cut out.

Archias being informed that Demosthenes had taken sanctuary in the temple of Neptune at Calauria, he and his Thracian soldiers passed over to it in row boats. As soon as he was landed, he went to the orator, and endeavoured to persuade him to quit the temple, and go with him to Antipater ; assuring him that he had no hard measure to expect. But it happened that Demosthenes had seen a strange vision the night before. He thought that he was contending with Archias, which could play the tragedian the best ; that he succeeded in his action ; had the audience on his side, and would certainly have obtained the prize, had not Archias outdone him in the dresses and decorations of the theatre. Therefore, when Archias had addressed him with great appearance of humanity, he fixed his eyes on him, and said, without rising from his seat, " Neither your action moved me formerly, nor do your promises move me now." Archias then began to threaten him ; upon which he said, " Before, you acted a part ; now you speak as from the Macedonian tripod. Only wait awhile till I have sent my last orders to my family." So saying, he retired into the inner part of the temple : and, taking some paper, as if he meant to write, he put the pen in his mouth, and bit

it a considerable time, as he used to do when thoughtful about his composition: after which, he covered his head, and put it in a reclining posture. The soldiers who stood at the door, apprehending that he took these methods to put off the fatal stroke, laughed at him, and called him a coward. Archias then approaching him, desired him to rise, and began to repeat the promises of making his peace with Antipater. Demosthenes, who by this time felt the operation of the poison he had taken strong upon him, uncovered his face, and looking upon Archias, "Now," said he, "you may act the part of Creon" in the play, as soon as you please, and cast out this carcass of mine unburied. For my part, O gracious Neptune, I quit thy temple with my breath within me. But Antipater and the Macedonians would not have scrupled to profane it with murder." By this time he could scarcely stand, and therefore desired them to support him. But in attempting to walk out he fell by the altar, and expired with a groan.

Aristo says, he sucked the poison from a pen, as we have related it. One Poppus, whose memoirs were recovered by Hermippus, reports, that, when he fell by the altar, there was found on his paper the beginning of a letter. "Demosthenes to Antipater," and nothing more. He adds, that people being surprised that he died so quickly, the Thracians who stood at the door, assured them that he took the poison in his hand out of a piece of cloth, and put it to his mouth. To them it had the appearance of gold. Upon inquiry made by Archias, a young maid who served Demosthenes, said, he had long wore that piece of cloth by way of amulet. Era-

* Alluding to that passage in the *Antigone* of Sophocles, where Creon forbids the body of Polyneices to be buried.

to~~st~~henes tells us, that he kept the poison in the hollow of a bracelet button which he wore upon his arm. Many others have written upon the subject ; but it is not necessary to give all their different accounts. We shall only add, that Democharis, a servant of Demosthenes, asserts, that he did not think his death owing to poison, but to the favour of the gods, and a happy providence, which snatched him from the cruelty of the Macedonians by a speedy and easy death. He died on the sixteenth of October, which is the most mournful day in the ceremonies of the *Thesmophoria* *. The women keep it with fasting in the temple of Ceres.

It was not long before the people of Athens paid him the honours that were due to him, by erecting his statue in brass, and decreeing that the eldest of his family should be maintained in the *Proptæum*, at the public charge. This celebrated inscription was put upon the pedestal of his statue :

Divine in speech, in judgment, too, divine,
Had valour's wreath, Demosthenes, been thine,
Fair Greece had still her freedom's ensign borne,
And held the scourge of Macedon in scorn !

For no regard is to be paid to those who say that Demosthenes himself uttered these lines in Calauria, just before he took the poison †.

A little before I visited Athens, the following ad-

* This was an annual festival in honour of Ceres. It began the fourteenth of October, and ended the eighteenth. The third day of the festival was a day of fasting and mortification ; and this is the day that Plutarch speaks of.

† This inscription, so far from doing Demosthenes honour, is the greatest disgrace that the Athenians could have fastened upon his memory. It reproaches him with a weakness, which, when the safety of his country was at stake, was such a deplorable want of virtue and manhood, as no parts or talents could atone for.

venture is said to have happened. A soldier being summoned to appear before the commanding officer upon some misdemeanor, put the little gold he had in the hands of the statue of Demosthenes, which were in some measure clenched. A small plane-tree grew by it, and many leaves, either accidentally lodged there by the winds, or purposely so placed by the soldier, covered the gold a considerable time. When he returned and found his money entire, the fame of this accident went abroad, and many of the wits of Athens, which could write the best copy of verses, imputed Demosthenes from the charge of corruption.

As for Demades, he did not long enjoy the new honours he had acquired. The Being who took it in charge to revenge Demosthenes, led him into Macedonia, where he justly perished by the hands of those whom he had basely flattered. They had hated him for some time; but at last they caught him in a fact which could neither be excused nor pardoned. Letters of his were intercepted, in which he exhorted Perdiccas to seize Macedonia, and deliver Greece, which, he said, "hung only by an old rotten stalk," meaning Antipater. Dinarchus, the Corinthian, accusing him of this treason, Cassander was so much provoked, that he stabbed his son in his arms, and afterwards gave orders for his execution. Thus, by the most dreadful misfortune, he learned that *traitors always first fell themselves*: a truth which Demosthenes had often told him before, but he would never believe it. Such, my Sossius, is the life of Demosthenes, which we have compiled in the best manner we could, from books and from tradition.

CICERO.

THE account we have of Helvia the mother of Cicero, is, that her family was noble *, and her character excellent. Of his father there is nothing said but in extremes. For some affirm that he was the son of a fuller †, and educated in that trade, while others deduce his origin from Attius Tullus ‡, a prince who governed the Volsci with great reputation. Be that as it may, I think the first of the family who bore the name of Cicero must have been an extraordinary man; and for that reason his posterity did not reject the appellation, but rather took to it with pleasure, though it was a common subject of ridicule: for the Latins call a vetch *cicer*, and he had a flat excrescence on the top of his nose in resemblance of a vetch, from which he got that surname ||. As for the Cicero of whom we are writing, his friends advised him, on his first application to business, and soliciting one of the great offices of state, to lay aside or change that name. But he answered with great spirit, "That he would endeavour to make the name of Cicero more glorious than that of the Scauri and the Catuli." When quæstor

* Cinna was of this family.

† Dion tells us that Q. Calenus was the author of this calumny. Cicero in his books *de Legibus*, has said enough to show that both his father and grandfather were persons of property and of a liberal education.

‡ The same prince to whom Coriolanus retired four hundred years before.

|| Pliny's account of the origin of this name is more probable. He supposes that the person who first bore it was remarkable for the cultivation of vetches. So Fabius, Lentulus, and Piso, had their names from beans, tares, and pease.

in Sicily, he consecrated in one of the temples a vase or some other offering in silver, upon which he inscribed his two first names *Marcus Tullius*, and, punning upon the third, ordered the artificer to engrave a vetch. Such is the account we have of his name.

He was born on the third of January*, the day on which the magistrates now sacrifice and pay their devotions for the health of the emperor; and it is said that his mother was delivered of him without pain. It is also reported, that a spectre appeared to his nurse, and foretold, that the child she had the happiness to attend, would one day prove a great benefit to the whole commonwealth of Rome. These things might have passed for idle dreams, had he not soon demonstrated the truth of the prediction. When he was of a proper age to go to school, his genius broke out with so much lustre, and he gained so distinguished a reputation among the boys, that the fathers of some of them repaired to the schools to see Cicero, and to have specimens of his capacity for literature; but the less civilized were angry with their sons, when they saw them take Cicero in the middle of them as they walked, and always give him the place of honour. He had that turn of genius and disposition which Plato† would have a scholar and philosopher to possess. He had both the capacity and inclination to learn all the arts, nor was there any branch of science that he despised; yet he was most inclined to poetry; and there is still extant a poem, entitled *Pontius Glaucus*‡, which was written by him, when

* In the six hundred and forty-seventh year of Rome; a hundred and four years before the Christian era. Pompey was born in the same year.

† Plato's Commonwealth, lib. v.

‡ This Glaucus was a famous fisherman, who after eating of

a boy, in *tetrameter* verse. In process of time, when he had studied this art with greater application, he was looked upon as the best poet, as well as the greatest orator in Rome. His reputation for oratory still remains, notwithstanding the considerable changes that have since been made in the language; but, as many ingenious poets have appeared since his time, his poetry has lost its credit, and is now neglected*.

When he had finished those studies through which boys commonly pass, he attended the lectures of Philo the academician, whom of all the scholars of Clitomachus, the Romans most admired for his eloquence, and loved for his conduct. At the same time he made great improvement in the knowledge of the law, under Mucius Scævola, an eminent lawyer, and president of the senate. He likewise got a taste of military knowledge under Sylla, in the *Marian* war†. But, afterwards, finding the commonwealth engaged in civil wars, which were likely to end in nothing but absolute monarchy, he withdrew to a philosophic and contemplative life; conversing with men of letters from Greece, and making farther advances in science. This method of life he pursued till Sylla had made himself master, and there appeared to be some established government again.

a certain herb, jumped into the sea, and became one of the gods of that element. Æschylus wrote a tragedy on the subject. Cicero's poem is lost.

* Plutarch was a very indifferent judge of the Latin poetry, and his speaking with so much favour of Cicero's, contrary to the opinion of Juvenal and many others, is a strong proof of it. He translated *Aratus* into verse at the age of seventeen, and wrote a poem in praise of the actions of *Marius*, which, Scævola said, would live through innumerable ages. But he was out in his prophecy. It has long been dead. And the poem which he wrote in three books on his own consulship, has shared the same fate.

† In the eighteenth year of his age.

About this time Sylla ordered the estate of one of the citizens to be sold by auction, in consequence of his being killed as a person proscribed; when it was struck off to Chrysogonus, Sylla's freedman, at the small sum of two thousand *drachmæ*. Roscius, the son and heir of the deceased, expressed his indignation, and declared that the estate was worth two hundred and fifty talents. Sylla, enraged at having his conduct thus publicly called in question, brought an action against Roscius for the murder of his father, and appointed Chrysogonus to be the manager. Such was the dread of Sylla's cruelty that no man offered to appear in defence of Roscius, and nothing seemed left for him but to fall a sacrifice. In this distress he applied to Cicero, and the friends of the young orator desired him to undertake the cause; thinking he could not have a more glorious opportunity to enter the lists of fame. Accordingly he undertook his defence, succeeded, and gained great applause*. But fearing Sylla's resentment, he traveled into Greece, and gave out that the recovery of his health was the motive. Indeed, he was of a lean and slender habit, and his stomach was so weak that he was obliged to be very sparing in his diet, and not to eat till a late hour in the day. His voice, however, had a variety of inflections, but was at the same time harsh and unformed; and, as in the vehemence and enthusiasm of speaking, he always rose into a loud key, there was reason to apprehend that it might injure his health.

When he came to Athens, he heard Antiochus the Ascalonite, and was charmed with the smoothness and grace of his elocution, though he did not approve his new doctrines in philosophy. For Antiochus had left the *new academy*, as it is called, and the sect of Carneades, either from clear conviction and from the

* In his twenty-seventh year.

strength of the evidence of sense, or else from a spirit of opposition to the schools of Clitomachus and Philo, and had adopted most of the doctrines of the Stoics. But Cicero loved the *New academy*, and entered more and more into its opinions; having already taken his resolution, if he failed in his design of rising in the state, to retire from the *forum* and all political intrigues, to Athens, and spend his days in peace in the bosom of philosophy.

But not long after he received the news of Sylla's death. His body by this time was strengthened by exercise, and brought to a good habit. His voice was formed; and at the same time that it was full and sonorous, had gained a sufficient sweetness, and was brought to a key which his constitution could bear. Besides, his friends at Rome solicited him by letters to return, and Antiochus exhorted him much to apply himself to public affairs. For which reasons he exercised his rhetorical powers afresh, as the best engines for business, and called forth his political talents. In short, he suffered not a day to pass without either declaiming, or attending the most celebrated orators. In the prosecution of this design, he sailed to Asia and the island of Rhodes. Amongst the rhetoricians of Asia, he availed himself of the instructions of Xenocles of Adramyttium, Dionysius of Magnesia, and Menippus of Caria. At Rhodes he studied under the rhetorician Apollonius the son of Molo*, and the philosopher Posidonius. It is said, that Apollonius, not understanding the Roman language, desired Cicero to declaim in Greek; and he readily complied, because he thought by that means his faults might the better be corrected. When he had ended his declamation, the rest were astonished at his performance, and strove which

* Not Apollonius the son of Molo, but Apollonius Molo. The same mistake is made by our author in the life of Cæsar.

should praise him most; but Apollonius showed no signs of pleasure while he was speaking; and when he had done, he sat a long time thoughtful and silent. At last, observing the uneasiness it gave his pupil, he said, "As for you, Cicero, I praise and admire you, but I am concerned for the fate of Greece. She had nothing left her but the glory of eloquence and erudition, and you are carrying that too to Rome."

Cicero now prepared to apply himself to public affairs with great hopes of success: but his spirit received a check from the oracle at Delphi. For upon his inquiring by what means he might rise to the greatest glory, the priestess bade him "follow nature, and not take the opinion of the multitude for the guide of his life." Hence it was, that after his coming to Rome, he acted at first with great caution. He was timorous and backward in applying for public offices, and had the mortification to find himself neglected, and called a *Greek*, a *scholastic*; terms which the artisans, and others the meanest of the Romans, are very liberal in applying. But, as he was naturally ambitious to honour, and spurred on besides by his father and his friends, he betook himself to the bar. Nor was it by slow and insensible degrees that he gained the palm of eloquence; his fame shot forth at once, and he was distinguished above all the orators of Rome. Yet it is said that his turn for action was naturally as defective as that of Demosthenes, and therefore he took all the advantage he could from the instruction of Roscius who excelled in comedy, and of Æsop whose talents lay in tragedy. This Æsop, we are told, when he was one day acting Atreus, in the part where he considers in what manner he should punish Thyestes, being worked up by his passion to a degree of insanity, with his sceptre struck a servant who happened suddenly to pass by, and laid him dead at his feet. In consequence of these

helps, Cicero found his powers of persuasion not a little assisted by action and just pronounciation. But as for those orators who gave into a bawling manner, he laughed at them, and said, "Their weakness made them get up into clamour, as lame men get on horse-back." His excellence at hitting off a jest or repartee animated his pleadings, and therefore seemed not foreign to the business of the *forum*; but by bringing it much into life, he offended numbers of people, and got the character of a malevolent man.

He was appointed quæstor at a time when there was a great scarcity of corn; and having Sicily for his province, he gave the people a great deal of trouble at first, by compelling them to send their corn to Rome. But afterwards, when they came to experience his diligence, his justice, and moderation, they honoured him more than any quæstor that Rome had ever sent them. About that time, a number of young Romans of noble families, who lay under the charge of having violated the rules of discipline, and not behaved with sufficient courage in time of service, were sent back to the prætor of Sicily. Cicero undertook their defence, and acquitted himself of it with great ability and success. As he returned to Rome, much elated with these advantages, he tells us*, he met with a pleasant adventure. As he was on the road through Campania, meeting with a person of some eminence with whom he was acquainted, he asked him, "What they said and thought of his actions in Rome?" imagining that his name and the glory of his achievements had filled the whole city. His acquaintance answered, "Why, where have you been, then, Cicero, all this time?"

This answer dispirited him extremely; for he found that the accounts of his conduct had been lost in Rome, as in an immense sea, and had made no re-

* In his oration for Plancius.

markable addition to his reputation. By mature reflection upon this incident, he was brought to retrench his ambition, because he saw that contention for glory was an endless thing, and had neither measure nor bounds to terminate it. Nevertheless, his immoderate love of praise, and his passion for glory, always remained with him, and often interrupted his best and wisest designs.

When he began to dedicate himself more earnestly to public business, he thought that, while mechanics knew the name, the place, the use of every tool and instrument they take in their hands, though those things are inanimate, it would be absurd for a statesman, whose functions cannot be performed but by means of men, to be negligent in acquainting himself with the citizens. He therefore made it his business to commit to memory not only their names, but the place of abode of those of greater note, what friends they made use of, and what neighbours were in their circle. So that whatever road in Italy Cicero traveled, he could easily point out the estates and houses of his friends.

Though his own estate was sufficient for his necessities, yet as it was small, it seemed strange that he would take neither fee nor present for his services at the bar. This was most remarkable in the case of Verres. Verres had been *prætor* in Sicily, and committed numberless acts of injustice and oppression. The Sicilians prosecuted him, and Cicero gained the cause for them, not so much by pleading, as by forbearing to plead. The magistrates, in their partiality to Verres, put off the trial by several adjournments to the last day*; and as Cicero knew there was not time

* Not till the last day. Cicero brought it on a few days before Verres's friends were to come into office; but of the several orations which were composed on the occasion, the two last only were delivered. A. U. 683.

for the advocates to be heard, and the matter determined in the usual method, he rose up, and said, "There was no occasion for pleadings." He therefore brought up the witnesses, and after their depositions were taken, insisted that the judges should give their verdict immediately.

Yet we have an account of several humorous sayings of Cicero's in this cause. When an emancipated slave, Cæcilius by name, who was suspected of being a Jew, would have set aside the Sicilians, and taken the prosecution of Verres upon himself*, Cicero said, "What has a Jew to do with swine's flesh?" For the Romans call a boar-pig *verres*. And when Verres reproached Cicero with effeminacy, he answered, "Why do you not first reprove your own children?" For Verres had a young son who was supposed to make an infamous use of his advantages of person. Hortensius the orator did not venture directly to plead the cause of Verres, but he was prevailed on to appear for him at the laying of the fine, and had received an ivory *sphinx* from him by way of consideration. In this case Cicero threw out several enigmatical hints against Hortensius; and when he said, "He knew not how to solve riddles," Cicero retorted, "That is somewhat strange, when you have a *sphinx* in your house."

Verres being thus condemned, Cicero set his fine at seven hundred and fifty thousand *drachmæ*; upon which, it was said by censorious people, that he had been bribed to let him off so low†. The Sicilians,

* Cicero knew that Cæcilius was secretly a friend to Verres, and wanted by this means to bring him off.

† This fine indeed was very inconsiderable. The legal fine for extortion, in such cases as that of Verres, was twice the sum extorted. The Sicilians laid a charge of 322,916*l.* against Verres; the fine must therefore have been 645,832*l.* but 750,000 *drachmæ* was no more than 24,319*l.* Plutarch must, therefore, most probably have been mistaken.

however, in acknowledgment of his assistance, brought him when he was ædile, a number of things for his games, and other very valuable presents; but he was so far from considering his private advantage that he made no other use of their generosity than to lower the price of provisions.

He had a handsome country seat at Arpinum, a farm near Naples, and another at Pompeii, but neither of them were very considerable. His wife Terentia brought him a fortune of a hundred and twenty thousand *denarii*, and he fell heir to something that amounted to ninety thousand more. Upon this he lived in a genteel, and at the same time a frugal manner, with men of letters, both Greeks and Romans, around him. He rarely took his meal before sunset; not that business or study prevented his sitting down to table sooner, but the weakness of his stomach, he thought, required that regimen. Indeed, he was so exact in all respects in the care of his health that he had his stated hours for rubbing and for the exercise of walking. By this management of his constitution, he gained a sufficient stock of health and strength for the great labours and fatigues he afterwards underwent.

He gave up the town house which belonged to his family to his brother, and took up his residence on the Palatine hill, that those who came to pay their court to him might not have too far to go. For he had a levee every day, not less than Crassus had for his great wealth, or Pompey for his power and interest in the army; though they were the most followed, and the greatest men in Rome. Pompey himself paid all due respect to Cicero, and found his political assistance very useful to him, both in respect to power and reputation.

When Cicero stood for the prætorship, he had many competitors who were persons of distinction,

and yet he was returned first. As a president in the courts of justice, he acted with great integrity and honour. Licinius Macer, who had great interest of his own, and was supported, besides, with that of Crassus, was accused before him of some default with respect to money. He had so much confidence in his own influence and the activity of his friends, that, when the judges were going to decide the cause, it is said he went home, cut his hair, and put on a white habit, as if he had gained the victory, and was about to return so equipped to the *forum*. But Crassus met him in his court yard, and told him, that all the judges had given verdict against him; which affected him in such a manner that he turned in again, took to his bed, and died*. Cicero gained honour by this affair, for it appeared that he kept strict watch against corruption in the court.

There was another person, named Vatinius, an insolent orator, who paid very little respect to the judges in his pleadings. It happened that he had his neck full of scrophulous swellings. This man applied to Cicero about some business or other; and as that magistrate did not immediately comply with his request, but sat some time deliberating, he said, "I could easily swallow such a thing, if I was prætor;" upon which, Cicero turned towards him, and made answer, "But I have not so large a neck."

* The story is related differently by Valerius Maximus. He says that Macer was in court waiting the issue, and, perceiving that Cicero was proceeding to give sentence against him, he sent to inform him that he was dead, and at the same time suffocated himself with his handkerchief. Cicero, therefore, did not pronounce sentence against him, by which means his estate was saved to his son, Licinius Calvus. Notwithstanding this, Cicero himself, in one of his epistles to Atticus, says, that he actually condemned him; and in another of his epistles he speaks of the popular esteem that he secured him. Cic. Ep. ad Att. l. i. c. 3, 4.

When there were only two or three days of his office unexpired, an information was laid against Manilius for embezzling the public money. This Manilius was a favourite of the people, and they thought he was only prosecuted on Pompey's account, being his particular friend. He desired to have a day fixed for his trial; and, as Cicero appointed the next day, the people were much offended, because it had been customary for the prætors to allow the accused ten days at the least. The tribunes therefore cited Cicero to appear before the commons, and give an account of this proceeding. He desired to be heard in his own defence, which was to this effect.—“As I have always behaved to persons impeached with all the moderation and humanity that the laws will allow, I thought it wrong to lose the opportunity of treating Manilius with the same candour. I was master only of one day more in my office of prætor, and consequently must appoint that; for to leave the decision of the cause to another magistrate, was not the method for those who were inclined to serve Manilius.” This made a wonderful change in the minds of the people, they were lavish in their praises, and desired him to undertake the defence himself. This he readily complied with; his regard for Pompey, who was absent, not being his least inducement. In consequence hereof, he presented himself before the commons again, and giving an account of the whole affair, took opportunity to make severe reflections on those who favoured oligarchy, and envied the glory of Pompey.

Yet for the sake of their country, the patricians joined the plebeians in raising him to the consulship. The occasion was this. The change which Sylla introduced into the constitution at first seemed harsh and uneasy, but by time and custom it came to an establishment which many thought not a bad

At present there were some who wanted to bring in another change, merely to gratify their own avarice, and without the least view to the public good. Pompey was engaged with the kings of Pontus and Armenia, and there was no force in Rome sufficient to suppress the authors of this intended innovation. They had a chief of a bold and enterprising spirit, and the most remarkable versatility of manners; his name Lucius Catiline. Beside a variety of other crimes, he was accused of debauching his own daughter, and killing his own brother. To screen himself from prosecution for the latter, he persuaded Sylla to put his brother among the proscribed, as if he had been still alive. These profligates, with such a leader, among other engagements of secrecy and fidelity, sacrificed a man, and eat of his flesh. Catiline had corrupted great part of the Roman youth by indulging their desires in every form of pleasure, providing them wine and women, and setting no bounds to his expenses for these purposes. All Tuscany was prepared for a revolt, and most of Cisalpine Gaul. The vast inequality of the citizens in point of property prepared Rome too for a change. Men of spirit amongst the nobility had impoverished themselves by their great expenses on public exhibitions and entertainments, on bribing for offices and erecting magnificent buildings; by which means the riches of the city were fallen into the hands of mean people; in this tottering state of the commonwealth, there needed no great force to upset it, and it was in the power of any bold adventurer to accomplish its ruin.

Catiline, however, before he began his operations, wanted a strong fort to sally out from, and with that view stood for the consulship. His prospect seemed very promising, because he hoped to drive Caius

Antonius for his colleague; a man who had no firm principles, either good or bad, nor any resolution of his own, but would make a considerable addition to the power of him that led him. Many persons of virtue and honour, perceiving this danger, put up Cicero for the consulship, and the people accepted him with pleasure. Thus Catiline was baffled, and Cicero * and Caius Antonius appointed consuls; though Cicero's father was only of the equestrian order, and his competitors of patrician families.

Catiline's designs were not yet discovered to the people. Cicero, however, at his entrance upon his office, had great affairs on his hands, the preludes of what was to follow. On the one hand, those who had been incapacitated by the laws of Sylla to bear offices, being neither inconsiderable in power nor in number, began now to solicit them, and make all possible interest with the people. It is true, they alleged many just and good arguments against the tyranny of Sylla, but it was an unseasonable time to give the administration so much trouble. On the other hand, the tribunes of the people proposed laws which had the same tendency to distress the government; for they wanted to appoint decemvirs, and invest them with an unlimited power. This was to extend over all Italy, over Syria, and all the late conquests of Pompey. They were to be commissioned to sell the public lands in these countries; to judge or banish whom they pleased; to plant colonies; to take money out of the public treasury; to levy and keep on foot what troops they thought necessary. Many Romans of high distinction were pleased with the bill, and in particular Antony, Cicero's colleague, for he hoped to be one of the ten. It was thought, too, that he was no stranger to Catiline's designs, and that he

* In his forty-third year.

did not disrelish them on account of his great debts. This was an alarming circumstance to all who had the good of their country at heart.

This danger, too, was the first that Cicero guarded against; which he did by getting the province of Macedonia decreed to Antony, and not taking that of Gaul which was allotted to himself. Antony was so much affected with this favour, that he was ready, like a hired player, to act a subordinate part under Cicero for the benefit of his country. Cicero having thus managed his colleague, began with greater courage to take his measures against the seditious party. He alleged his objections against the law in the senate, and effectually silenced the proposers*. They took another opportunity, however, and coming prepared, insisted that the consuls should appear before the people. Cicero, not in the least intimidated, commanded the senate to follow him. He addressed the commons with such success, that they threw out the bill; and his victorious eloquence had such an effect upon the tribunes, that they gave up other things which they had been meditating.

He was indeed the man who most effectually showed the Romans what charms eloquence can add to truth, and that justice is invincible when properly supported. He showed also, that a magistrate who watches for the good of the community should in his actions always prefer right to popular measures, and in his speeches know how to make those right measures agreeable, by separating from them whatever may offend. Of the grace and power with which he spoke, we have a proof in a theatrical regulation that took place in his consulship. Before, those of the equestrian order sat mixed with the commons. Marcus Otho, in his

* This was the first of his three orations *de Leg. Agraria*.

prætorship, was the first who separated the knights from the other citizens, and appointed them seats which they still enjoy*. The people looked upon this as a mark of dishonour, and hissed, and insulted Otho when he appeared at the theatre. The knights, on the other hand, received him with loud plaudits. The people repeated their hissing, and the knights their applause; till at last they came to mutual reproaches, and threw the whole theatre in the utmost disorder. Cicero being informed of the disturbance, came and called the people to the temple of Bellona, where, partly by reproof, partly by lenient applications, he so corrected them, that they returned to the theatre, loudly testified their approbation of Otho's conduct, and strove with the knights which should do him the most honour.

Catiline's conspiracy, which at first had been intimidated and discouraged, began to recover its spirits. The accomplices assembled, and exhorted each other to begin their operations with vigour, before the return of Pompey, who was said to be already marching homewards with his forces. But Catiline's chief motive for action was the dependence he had on Sylla's veterans. Though these were scattered all over Italy, the greatest and most warlike part resided in the cities of Etruria, and in idea were plundering and sharing the wealth of Italy again. They had Manlius for their leader, a man who had served with great distinction under Sylla; and now entering into Catiline's views, they came to Rome to assist in the approaching election; for he solicited the consulship again, and had resolved to kill Cicero in the tumult of that assembly.

The gods seemed to presignify the machinations

* About four years before, under the consulship of Piso and Glabrio. But Otho was not then prætor. He was tribune.

of these incendiaries by earthquakes, thunders, and apparitions. There were also intimations from men, true enough in themselves, but not sufficient for the conviction of a person of Catiline's quality and power. Cicero, therefore, adjourned the day of election; and having summoned Catiline before the senate, examined him upon the informations he had received. Catiline believing there were many in the senate who wanted a change, and at the same time being desirous to show his resolution to his accomplices who were present, answered with a calm firmness.—“As there are two bodies, one of which is feeble and decayed, but has a head; the other strong and robust, but is without a head; what harm am I doing, if I give a head to the body that wants it?” By these enigmatical expressions he meant the senate and the people. Consequently Cicero was still more alarmed. On the day of election he put on a coat of mail; the principal persons in Rome conducted him from his house, and great numbers of the youth attended him to the *Campus Martius*. There he threw back his robe, and showed part of the coat of mail, on purpose to point out his danger. The people were incensed, and immediately gathered about him; the consequence of which was, that Catiline was thrown out again, and Silanus and Murena chosen consuls.

Not long after this, when the veterans were assembling for Catiline in Etruria, and the day appointed for carrying the plot into execution approached, three of the first and greatest personages in Rome, Marcus Crassus, Marcus Marcellus, and Metellus Scipio, went and knocked at Cicero's door about midnight; and having called the porter, bade him awake his master, and tell him who attended. Their business was this: Crassus's porter brought him in a packet of letters after supper, which he

had received from a person unknown. They were directed to different persons, and there was one for Crassus himself, but without a name. This only Crassus read; and when he found that it informed him of a great massacre intended by Catiline, and warned him to retire out of the city, he did not open the rest, but immediately went to wait on Cicero; for he was not only terrified at the impending danger, but he had some suspicions to remove which had arisen from his acquaintance with Catiline. Cicero having consulted with them what was proper to be done, assembled the senate at break of day, and delivered the letters according to the directions, desiring at the same time that they might be read in public. They all gave the same account of the conspiracy.

Quintus Arrius, a man of prætorian dignity, moreover, informed the senate of the levies that had been made in Etruria, and assured them that Manlius, with a considerable force, was hovering about those parts, and only waiting for news of an insurrection in Rome. On these informations, the senate made a decree, by which all affairs were committed to the consuls, and they were empowered to act in the manner they should think best for the preservation of the commonwealth. This is an edict which the senate seldom issue, and never but in some great and imminent danger.

When Cicero was invested with this power he committed the care of things without the city to Quintus Metellus, and took the direction of all within to himself. He made his appearance every day attended and guarded by such a multitude of people, that they filled great part of the forum. Catiline, unable to bear any longer delay, determined to repair to Manlius and his army; and ordered Marcius and Cethegus to take their swords

and go to Cicero's house early in the morning, where, under pretence of paying their compliments, they were to fall upon him and kill him. But Fulvia, a woman of quality, went to Cicero in the night to inform him of his danger, and charged him to be his guard in particular against Cethegus. As soon as it was light, the assassins came, and being denied entrance, they grew very insolent and clamorous, which made them the more suspected.

Cicero went out afterwards, and assembled the senate in the temple of Jupiter Stator, which stands at the entrance of the *Via Sacra*, in the way to the Palatine hill. Catiline came among the rest, as with a design to make his defence; but there was not a senator who would sit by him; they all left the bench he had taken; and when he began to speak, they interrupted him in such a manner that he could not be heard.

At length Cicero rose up, and commanded him to depart the city: "for," said he, "while I employ only words, and you weapons, there should at least be walls between us." Catiline, upon this, immediately marched out with three hundred men well armed, and with the fasces and other ensigus of authority, as if he had been a lawful magistrate. In this form he went to Manlius, and having assembled an army of twenty thousand men, he marched to the cities, in order to persuade them to revolt. Hostilities having thus openly commenced, Antony, Cicero's colleague, was sent against Catiline.

Such as Catiline had corrupted, and thought proper to leave in Rome, were kept together and encouraged by Cornelius Lentulus, surnamed Sura, a man of noble birth, but bad life. He had been expelled the senate for his debaucheries, but was then prætor the second time; for that was a customary qualification when ejected persons were to be re-

stored to their places in the senate*. As to the surname of *Sura*, it is said to have been given him on this occasion. When he was quæstor in the time of *Sylla*, he had lavished away vast sums of the public money. *Sylla*, incensed at his behaviour, demanded an account of him in full senate. *Lentulus* came up in a very careless and disrespectful manner, and said, "I have no account to give, but I present you with the calf of my leg;" which was a common expression among the boys, when they missed their stroke at tennis. Hence he had the surname of *Sura*, which is the Roman word for the calf of the leg. Another time, being prosecuted for some great offence, he corrupted the judges. When they had given their verdict, though he was acquitted only by a majority of two, he said, "He had put himself to a needless expense in bribing one of those judges, for it would have been sufficient to have had a majority of one."

Such was the disposition of this man, who had not only been solicited by *Catiline*, but was moreover infatuated with vain hopes, which prognosticators and other impostors held up to him. They forged verses in an oracular form, and brought him them as from the books of the Sibyls. These lying prophecies signified the decree of fate, "That three of the *Cornelii* would be monarchs of Rome." They added, "That two had already fulfilled their destiny, *Cinna* and *Sylla*; that he was the third *Cornelius* whom the gods now offered the monarchy; and that he ought by all means to embrace his high fortune, and not ruin it by delays, as *Catiline* had done."

Nothing little or trivial now entered into the

* When a Roman senator was expelled, an appointment to prætorial office was a sufficient qualification for him to resume his seat. *Dion. l. xxxvii.*

schemes of Lentulus. He resolved to kill the whole senate, and as many of the other citizens as he possibly could; to burn the city, and to spare none but the sons of Pompey, whom he intended to seize and keep as pledges of his peace with that general. for by this time it was strongly reported that he was on his return from his great expedition. The conspirators had fixed on a night during the feast of the *Saturnalia* for the execution of their enterprise. They had lodged arms and combustible matter in the house of Cethegus. They had divided Rome into a hundred parts, and pitched upon the same number of men, each of which was allotted his quarter to set fire to. As this was to be done by them at the same moment, they hoped that the conflagration would be general; others were to intercept the water, and kill all that went to seek it.

While these things were preparing, there happened to be at Rome two ambassadors from the Allobroges, a nation that had been much oppressed by the Romans, and was very impatient under their yoke. Lentulus and his party thought these ambassadors proper persons to raise commotions in Gaul, and bring that country to their interest, and therefore made them partners in the conspiracy. They likewise charged them with letters to their magistrates and to Catiline. To the Gauls they promised liberty, and they desired Catiline to enfranchise the slaves, and march immediately to Rome. Along with the ambassadors they sent one Titus of Crotona to carry the letters to Catiline. But the measures of these inconsiderate men, who generally consulted upon their affairs over their wine and in company with women, were soon discovered by the indefatigable diligence, the sober address, and great capacity of Cicero. He had his emissaries in all parts of the city, to trace every step they took; and

had, besides, a secret correspondence with many who pretended to join in the conspiracy; by which means he got intelligence of their treating with those strangers.

In consequence hereof, he laid an ambush for the Crotonian in the night, and seized him and the letters; the ambassadors themselves privately lending him their assistance*. Early in the morning he assembled the senate in the temple of *Concord*, where he read the letters, and took the depositions of the witnesses. Junius Silanus deposed, that several persons had heard Cethegus say, that three consuls and four prætors would very soon be killed. The evidence of Piso, a man of consular dignity, contained circumstances of the like nature. And Caius Sulpitius, one of the prætors, who was sent to Cethegus's house, found there a great quantity of javelins, swords, poniards, and other arms, all new furnished. At last, the senate giving the Crotonian a promise of indemnity, Lentulus saw himself entirely detected, and laid down his office (for he was then prætor): he put off his purple robe in the house, and took another more suitable to his present distress. Upon which, both he and his accomplices were delivered to the prætors, to be kept in custody, but not in chains.

By this time it grew late, and as the people were waiting without in great numbers for the event of the day, Cicero went out and gave them an account of it. After which, they conducted him to the house of a friend who lived in his neighbourhood; his own being taken up with the women, who were then employed in the mysterious rites of the goddess, whom

* These ambassadors had been solicited by Umbrenus to join his party. Upon mature deliberation they thought it safest to abide by the state, and discovered the plot to Fabius Sanga, the patron of their nation.

the Romans call *Bona* or the *Good*, and the Greeks *Gynecea*. An annual sacrifice is offered her in the consul's house by his wife and mother, and the vestal virgins give their attendance. When Cicero was retired to the apartments assigned him, with only a few friends, he began to consider what punishment he should inflict upon the criminals. He was extremely loath to proceed to a capital one, which the nature of their offence seemed to demand, as well by reason of the mildness of his disposition, as for fear of incurring the censure of making an extravagant and severe use of his power against men who were of the first families, and had powerful connexions in Rome. On the other side, if he gave them a more gentle chastisement, he thought he should still have something to fear from them. He knew that they would never rest with any thing less than death, but would rather break out into the most desperate villanies, when their former wickedness was sharpened with anger and resentment. Besides, he might himself be branded with the mark of timidity and weakness, and the rather because he was generally supposed not to have much courage.

Before Cicero could come to a resolution, the women who were sacrificing observed an extraordinary presage. When the fire on the altar seemed to be extinguished, a strong and bright flame suddenly broke out of the embers. The other women were terrified at the prodigy, but the vestal virgins ordered Terentia, Cicero's wife, to go to him immediately, and command him from them, "Boldly to follow his best judgment in the service of his country; because the goddess, by the brightness of this flame, promised him not only safety but glory in his enterprise." Terentia was by no means of a meek and timorous disposition, but had her ambition, and (as Cicero himself says) took a greater share with him in politics than she permitted him to have in domes-

tic business. She now informed him of the prodigy, and exasperated him against the criminals. His brother Quintus, and Publius Nigidius, one of his philosophical friends, whom he made great use of in the administration, strengthened him in the same purpose.

Next day the senate met to deliberate on the punishment of the conspirators, and Silanus, being first asked his opinion, gave it for sending them to prison, and punishing them in the severest manner that was possible. The rest in their order agreed with him, till it came to Caius Cæsar, who was afterwards dictator. Cæsar, then a young man, and just in the dawn of power, both in his measures and his hopes, was taking that road which he continued in, till he turned the Roman commonwealth into a monarchy. This was not observed by others, but Cicero had strong suspicions of him. He took care however, not to give him a sufficient handle against him. Some say the consul had almost got the necessary proofs, and that Cæsar had a narrow escape. Others assert, that Cicero purposely neglected the informations that might have been had against him, for fear of his friends and his great interest. For, had Cæsar been brought under the same predicament with the conspirators, it would rather have contributed to save than to destroy them.

When it came to his turn to give judgment, he rose and declared, "Not for punishing them capitally, but for confiscating their estates, and lodging them in any of the towns of Italy that Cicero should pitch upon, where they might be kept in chains till Catiline was conquered*." To this opinion, which was on the merciful side, and supported with great

* Plutarch seems here to intimate, that after the defeat of Catiline, they might be put upon their trial; but it appears from Sallust that Cæsar had no such intention.

eloquence by him who gave it, Cicero himself added no small weight : for in his speech he gave the arguments at large for both opinions, first for the former, and afterwards for that of Cæsar. And all Cicero's friends, thinking it would be less invidious for him to avoid putting the criminals to death, were for the latter sentence : insomuch that even Silanus changed sides, and excused himself by saying that he did not mean capital punishment, for that imprisonment was the severest which a Roman senator could suffer.

The matter thus went on till it came to Lutatius Catulus. He declared for capital punishment ; and Cato supported him, expressing in strong terms his suspicions of Cæsar ; which so roused the spirit and indignation of the senate that they made a decree for sending the conspirators to execution. Cæsar then opposed the confiscating their goods ; for he said, it was unreasonable, when they rejected the mild part of his sentence, to adopt the severe. As the majority still insisted upon it, he appealed to the tribunes. The tribunes, indeed, did not put in their prohibition, but Cicero himself gave up the point, and agreed that the goods should not be forfeited.

After this Cicero went at the head of the senate to the criminals, who were not all lodged in one house, but in those of the several prætors. First he took Lentulus from the Palatine hill, and led him down the *Via Sacra*, and through the middle of the forum. The principal persons in Rome attended the consul on all sides, like a guard ; the people stood silent at the horror of the scene ; and the youth looked on with fear and astonishment, as if they were initiated that day in some awful ceremonies of aristocratic power. When he had passed the forum, and was come to the prison, he delivered Lentulus to the executioner. Afterwards he brought Cethe-

gus, and all the rest in their order, and they were put to death. In his return he saw others who were in the conspiracy standing thick in the *forum*. As these knew not the fate of their ringleaders, they were waiting for night, in order to go to their rescue, for they supposed them yet alive. Cicero, therefore, called out to them aloud, *They did live*. The Romans, who choose to avoid all inauspicious words, in this manner express death.

By this time it grew late, and as he passed through the *forum* to go to his own house, the people now did not conduct him in a silent and orderly manner, but crowded to hail him with loud acclamations and plaudits, calling him *the saviour and second founder of Rome*. The streets were illuminated * with a multitude of lamps and torches placed by the doors. The women held out lights from the tops of the houses, that they might behold, and pay a proper compliment to the man who was followed with solemnity by a train of the greatest men in Rome, most of whom had distinguished themselves by successful wars, led up triumphs, and enlarged the empire both by sea and land. All these, in their discourse with each other as they went along, acknowledged that Rome was indebted to many generals and great men of that age for pecuniary acquisitions, for rich spoils, for power, but for preservation and safety to Cicero alone, who had rescued her from so great and dreadful a danger. Not that his quashing the enterprise, and punishing the delinquents, appeared so extraordinary a thing; but the wonder was, that he could suppress the greatest

* Illuminations are of high antiquity. They came originally from the nocturnal celebration of religious mysteries, and on that account carried the idea of veneration and respect with them.

conspiracy that ever existed, with so little inconvenience to the state, without the least sedition or tumult. For many who had joined Catiline, left him on receiving intelligence of the fate of Lentulus and Cethegus; and that traitor giving Antony battle with the troops that remained, was destroyed with his whole army.

Yet some were displeased with this conduct and success of Cicero, and inclined to do him all possible injury. At the head of this faction were some of the magistrates for the ensuing year; Cæsar who was to be prætor, and Metellus and Bestia tribunes*. These last entering upon their office a few days before that of Cicero's expired, would not suffer him to address the people. They placed their own benches on the *rostra*, and only gave him permission to take the oath upon laying down his office †, after which he was to descend immediately. Accordingly when Cicero went up, it was expected that he would take the customary oath; but silence being made, instead of the usual form, he adopted one that was new and singular. The purport of it was, that "He had saved his country, and preserved the empire;" and all the people joined in it.

This exasperated Cæsar and the tribunes still more, and they endeavoured to create him new troubles. Among other things they proposed a decree for calling Pompey home with his army, to suppress the despotic power of Cicero. It was happy for him, and for the whole commonwealth, that Cato

* Bestia went out of office on the eighth of December. Metellus and Sextius were tribunes.

† The consuls took two oaths; one, on entering into their office, that they would act according to the laws; and the other, on quitting it, that they had not acted contrary to the laws.

was then one of the tribunes; for he opposed them with an authority equal to theirs, and a reputation that was much greater, and consequently broke their measures with ease. He made a set speech upon Cicero's consulship, and represented it in so glorious a light that the highest honours were decreed him, and he was called *the father of his country*; a mark of distinction which none ever gained before. Cato bestowed that title on him before the people, and they confirmed it*.

His authority in Rome at that time was undoubtedly great; but he rendered himself obnoxious and burdensome to many, not by any ill action, but by continually praising and magnifying himself. He never entered the senate, the assembly of the people, or the courts of judicature, but Cataline and Lentulus were the burden of his song. Not satisfied with this, his writings were so interlarded with encomiums on himself, that though his style was elegant and delightful, his discourses were disgusting and nauseous to the reader; for the blemish stuck to him like an incurable disease.

But though he had such an insatiable avidity of honour, he was never unwilling that others should have their share. For he was entirely free from envy; and it appears from his works that he was most liberal in his praises, not only of the ancients, but of those of his own time. Many of his remarkable sayings, too, of this nature, are preserved. Thus of Aristotle he said, "That he was a river of flowing gold;" and of Plato's dialogues, "That if Jupiter were to speak, he would speak as he did." Theophrastus he used to call his "particular favourite;" and being asked which of Demosthenes's

* Q. Calvus was the first who gave him the title. Cato, as tribune, confirmed it before the people.

orations he thought the best, he answered, "The longest." Some who affect to be zealous admirers of that orator, complain, indeed, of Cicero's saying in one of his epistles, "That Demosthenes sometimes nodded in his orations:" but they forget the many great encomiums he bestowed on him in other parts of his works; and do not consider that he gave the title of *Philippics* to his orations against Mark Anthony, which were the most elaborate he ever wrote. There was not one of his cotemporaries celebrated either for his eloquence or philosophy, whose fame he did not promote, either by speaking or writing of him in an advantageous manner. He persuaded Cæsar, when dictator, to grant Cratippus the Peripatetic, the freedom of Rome. He likewise prevailed upon the council of Areopagus to make out an order, for desiring him to remain at Athens, to instruct the youth; and not deprive their city of such an ornament. There are, moreover, letters of Cicero's to Herodes, and others to his son, in which he directs them to study philosophy under Cratippus. But he accuses Gorgias the rhetorician of accustoming his son to a life of pleasure and intemperance, and therefore forbids the young man his society. Amongst his Greek letters, this, and another to Pelops the Byzantine, are all that discover any thing of resentment. His reprimand to Gorgias certainly was right and proper, if he was a dissolute man that he passed for; but he betrays an excessive meanness in his expostulations with Pelops, for neglecting to procure him certain honours from the city of Byzantium.

These were the effects of his vanity. Superior keenness of expression, too, which he had at command, led him into many violations of decorum. He pleaded for Munatius in a certain cause; and his client was acquitted in consequence of his do-

fence. Afterwards Munatius prosecuted Sabinus, one of Cicero's friends; upon which he was so much transported with anger as to say, "Thinkest thou it was the merit of thy cause that saved thee, and not rather the cloud which I threw over thy crimes, and which kept them from the sight of the court." He had succeeded in an encomium on Marcus Crassus from the *rostrum*; and a few days after as publicly reproached him. "What!" said Crassus, "did you not lately praise me in the place where you now stand?" "True;" answered Cicero, "but I did it by way of experiment, to see what I could make of a bad subject." Crassus had once affirmed, that none of his family ever lived above threescore years; but afterwards wanted to contradict it, and said, "What could I be thinking of when I asserted such a thing?" "You knew," said Cicero, "that such an assertion would be very agreeable to the people of Rome." Crassus happened one day to profess himself much pleased with that maxim of the stoics, "The good man is always rich*." "I imagine," said Cicero, "there is another more agreeable to you, *All things belong to the prudent*." For Crassus was notoriously covetous. Crassus had two sons, one of which resembled a man called Accius so much that his mother was suspected of an intrigue with him. This young man spoke in the Senate with great applause; and Cicero being asked what he thought of him, answered in Greek, *αὐτὸς Κράσους* †. When Crassus was

* *σοφία ἀνὰ τὸ σόφον*. The Greek *σοφός* signifies cunning, shrewd, prudent, as well as wise; and in any of the former acceptations the stoic maxim was applicable to Crassus. Thus *frugi*, in Latin, is used indifferently either for saving prudence, or for sober wisdom.

† An ill-mannered pun, which signifies either that the young man was worthy of Crassus, or that he was the son of Accius.

going to set out for Syria, he thought it better to leave Cicero his friend than his enemy, and therefore addressed him one day in an obliging manner, and told him he would come and sup with him. Cicero accepted the offer with equal politeness. A few days after, Vatinius likewise applied to him by his friends, and desired a reconciliation. "What!" said Cicero, "does Vatinius too want to sup with me?" Such were his jests upon Crassus. Vatinius had scrophulous tumours in his neck; and one day when he was pleading, Cicero called him "a tumid orator." An account was once brought Cicero that Vatinius was dead, which being afterwards contradicted, he said, "May vengeance seize the tongue that told the lie!" When Cæsar proposed a decree for distributing the lands in Campania among the soldiers, many of the senators were displeased at it; and Lucius Gellius, in particular, who was one of the oldest of them, said, "That shall never be while I live." "Let us wait awhile, then," said Cicero; "for Gellius requires no very long credit." There was one Octavius who had it objected to him, that he was an African. One day when Cicero was pleading, this man said he could not hear him. "That is somewhat strange," said Cicero; "for you are not without a hole in your ear*." When Metellus Nepos told him, "Thou hast ruined more as an evidence than he had saved as an advocate." "I grant it," said Cicero; "for I have more truth than eloquence." A young man, who lay under the imputation of having given his father a poisoned cake, talking in an insolent manner, and threatening that Cicero should feel the weight of his reproaches, Cicero answered, "I had much rather have them than your cake." Publius Sestius had taken Cicero,

* A mark of slavery amongst some nations; but the Africans wore pendants in their ears by way of ornament.

among others, for his advocate, in a cause of some importance; and yet he would suffer no man to speak but himself. When it appeared that he would be acquitted, and the judges were giving their verdict, Cicero called to him, and said, "Sestius, make the best use of your time to day, for to-morrow you will be out of office*." Publius Cotta, who affected to be thought an able lawyer, though he had neither learning nor capacity, being called in as a witness in a certain cause, declared, "He knew nothing of the matter." "Perhaps," said Cicero, "you think I am asking you some question in law." Metellus Nepos, in some difference with Cicero, often asking him, "Who is your father?" he replied, "Your mother has made it much more difficult for you to answer that question." For his mother had not the most unsullied reputation. This Metellus was himself a man of a light unbalanced mind. He suddenly quitted the tribunitial office, and sailed to Pompey in Syria; and when he was there, he returned in a manner still more absurd. When his preceptor Philagrus died, he buried him in a pompous manner, and placed the figure of a crow in marble on his monument†. "This," said Cicero, "was one of the wisest things you ever did; for your preceptor has taught you rather to fly than to speak‡." Marcus Appianus, having mentioned, in the introduction to one of his *readings*, that his friend

* Probably Sestius, not being a professed advocate, would not be employed to speak for any body else; and therefore Cicero meant that he should indulge his vanity in speaking for himself.

† It was usual among the ancients to place emblematic figures on the monument of the dead; and these were either such instruments as represented the profession of the deceased, or such animals as resembled them in disposition.

‡ Alluding to the celerity of his expeditions.

had desired him to try every resource of care, eloquence, and fidelity in his cause, Cicero said, "What a hard hearted man you are, not to do any one thing that your friend has desired of you?"

It seems not foreign to the business of an orator to use this cutting raillery against enemies or opponents; but his employing it indiscriminately, merely to raise a laugh, rendered him extremely obnoxious. To give a few instances: He used to call Marcus Aquilius *Adrastus*, because he had two sons-in-law who were both in exile*. Lucius Cotta, a great lover of wine, was censor when Cicero solicited the consulship. Cicero, in the course of his canvass, happening to be thirsty, called for water, and said to his friends who stood round him as he drank, "You do well to conceal me, for you are afraid that the censor will call me to account for drinking water." Meeting Voconius one day with three daughters, who were very plain women, he cried out:

On this conception Phœbus never smiled †.

Marcus Gellius, who was supposed to be of servile extraction, happening to read some letters in the senate with a loud and strong voice, "Do not be surprised at it," said Cicero, "for there have been public criers in his family." Faustus, the son of Sylla the dictator, who had proscribed great numbers of Romans, having run deep in debt, and wasted great part of his estate, was obliged to put up public bills for the sale of it. Upon which Cicero said, "I like these bills much better than his father's."

Many hated him for these keen sarcasms; which encouraged Clodius and his faction to form their

* Because *Adrastus* had married his daughters to Eteocles and Polynices, who were exiled.

† A verse of Sophocles, speaking of Laius the father of Oedipus,

schemes against him. The occasion was this: Clodius, who was of a noble family, young and adventurous, entertained a passion for Pompeia, the wife of Cæsar. This induced him to get privately into the house, which he did in the habit of a female musician. The women were offering in Cæsar's house that mysterious sacrifice which is kept from the sight and knowledge of men. But, though no man is suffered to assist in it, Clodius, who was very young, and had his face yet smooth, hoped to pass through the women to Pompeia undiscovered. As he entered a great house in the night, he was puzzled to find his way; and one of the women belonging to Aurelia, Cæsar's mother, seeing him wandering up and down, asked him his name. Being now forced to speak, he said he was seeking Abra, one of Pompeia's maids. The woman, perceiving it was not a female voice, shrieked out, and called the matrons together. They immediately made fast the doors, and, searching the whole house, found Clodius skulking in the apartment of the maid who introduced him.

As the affair made a great noise, Cæsar divorced Pompeia, and prosecuted Clodius for that act of impiety. Cicero was at that time his friend; for, during the conspiracy of Catiline, he had been ready to give him all the assistance in his power; and even attended as one of his guards. Clodius insisted, in his defence, that he was not then at Rome, but at a considerable distance in the country. But Cicero attested that he came that very day to his house, and talked with him about some particular business. This was, indeed, matter of fact; yet probably it was not so much the influence of truth, as the necessity of satisfying his wife Terentia, that induced him to declare it. She hated Clodius on account of his sister Clodia; for she was persuaded, that that lady wanted to get Cicero for her husband; and that she

managed the design by one Tullus. As Tullus was an intimate friend of Cicero's, and likewise constantly paid his court to Clodia, who was his neighbour, that circumstance strengthened her suspicions. Besides, Terentia was a woman of an imperious temper, and, having an ascendant over her husband, she put him upon giving evidence against Clodius. Many other persons of honour alleged against him the crimes of perjury, of fraud, of bribing the people, and corrupting the women. Nay, Lucullus brought his maid-servants to prove that Clodius had a criminal commerce with his own sister, who was the wife of that nobleman. This was the youngest of the sisters. And it was generally believed that he had connections of the same kind with his other sisters; one of which, named Tertia, was married to Martius Rex; and the other, Clodia, to Metellus Celer. The latter was called *Quadrantaria*, because one of her lovers palmed upon her a purse of small brass money, instead of silver; the smallest brass coin being called a *quadrans*. It was on this sister's account that Clodius was most censured. As the people set themselves both against the witnesses and the prosecutors, the judges were so terrified that they thought it necessary to place a guard about the court; and most of them confounded the letters upon the tablets*. He seemed, however, to be acquitted by the majority; but it was said to be through pecuniary applications. Hence Cato, when he met the judges, said, "You were not in desiring a guard for your defence; for I was afraid that somebody would take the money from you." And when Clodius told Cato that the judges did not give credit to his defence, "Yes," said he, "five and twenty of them obeyed me, for so many condemned you;

* See the note on the parallel passage in the life of Cato.

nor did the other thirty believe you, for they did not acquit you till they had received your money." As to Cæsar, when he was called upon, he gave no testimony against Clodius; nor did he affirm that he was certain of any injury done to his bed. He only said, "He had divorced Pompeia, because the wife of Cæsar ought not only to be clear of such a crime, but of the very suspicion of it."

After Clodius had escaped this danger, and was elected tribune of the people, he immediately attacked Cicero, and left neither circumstance nor person untried to ruin him. He gained the people by laws that flattered their inclinations, and the consuls by decreeing them large and wealthy provinces; for Piso was to have Macedonia, and Gabinius Syria. He registered many mean and indigent persons as citizens; and armed a number of slaves for his constant attendants. Of the great triumvirate, Crassus was an avowed enemy to Cicero. Pompey indifferently caressed both parties, and Cæsar was going to set out upon his expedition to Gaul. Though the latter was not his friend, but rather suspected of enmity since the affair of Catiline, it was to him that he applied. The favour he asked of him was, that he would take him as his lieutenant; and Cæsar granted it*. Clodius perceiving that Cicero would, by this means, get out of the reach of his tribunitial power, pretended to be inclined to a reconciliation. He threw most of the blame of the late difference on Terentia; and spoke always of Cicero in terms of candour, not like an enemy, but as one who was inclined, like a friend might, to be reconciled. This removed Cicero's fears, and he gave up

* Cicero says that this lieutenancy was a voluntary offer of Cæsar's. Ep. ad Att.

† It does not appear that Cicero was influenced by this conduct of Clodius: He had always expressed an indifference

the lieutenantancy which Cæsar had indulged him with, and began to attend to business as before.

Cæsar was so much piqued at this proceeding, that he encouraged Clodius against him, and drew off Pompey entirely from his interest. He declared, too, before the people, that Cicero, in his opinion, had been guilty of a flagrant violation of all justice and law, in putting Lentulus and Cethegus to death, without any form of trial. This was the charge which he was summoned to answer. Cicero then put on mourning, let his hair grow, and, with every token of distress, went about to supplicate the people. Clodius took care to meet him every where in the streets, with his audacious and insolent crew, who insulted him on his change of dress, and often disturbed his applications by pelting him with dirt and stones. However, almost all the equestrian order went into mourning with him; and no fewer than twenty thousand young men, of the best families, attended him with their hair disheveled, and entreated the people for him. Afterwards the senate met, with an intent to decree that the people should change their habits, as in times of public mourning. But, as the consuls opposed it, and Clodius beset the house with his armed band of ruffians, many of the senators ran out, rending their garments, and exclaiming against the outrage.

But this spectacle excited neither compassion nor shame; and it appeared that Cicero must either go into exile, or decide the dispute with the sword. In this extremity he applied to Pompey for assistance; but he had purposely rejected himself, and remained at his Alban villa. Cicero then sent his son-in-law Piso to him, and afterwards went himself. When Pompey was informed of his arrival, he could not

to the lieutenantancy that was offered to him by Cæsar. Ep. ad Att. l. ii. c. 18.

bear to look him in the face. He was confounded at the thought of an interview with his injured friend, who had fought such battles for him, and rendered him so many services in the course of his administration. But being now son-in-law to Cæsar, he sacrificed his former obligations to that connexion, and went out at a back door, to avoid his presence.

Cicero, thus betrayed and deserted, had recourse to the consuls. Gabinius always treated him rudely; but Piso behaved with some civility. He advised him to withdraw from the torrent of Clodius's rage; to bear this change of the times with patience; and to be once more the saviour of his country, which, for his sake, was in all this trouble and commotion.

After this answer, Cicero consulted with his friends. Lucullus advised him to stay, and assured him he would be victorious. Others were of opinion, that it was best to fly, because the people would soon be desirous of his return, when they were weary of the extravagance and madness of Clodius. He approved of this last advice; and taking a statue of Minerva, which he had long kept in his house with great devotion, he carried it to the Capitol, and dedicated it there, with this inscription: TO MINERVA THE PROTECTRESS OF ROME. About midnight he privately quitted the city; and, with some friends who attended to conduct him, took his route on foot through Lucania, intending to pass from thence to Sicily.

It was no sooner known that he was fled than Clodius procured a decree of banishment against him, which prohibited him fire and water, and admission into any house within five hundred miles of Italy. But such was the veneration the people had for Cicero, that in general there was no regard paid to the decree. They showed him every sort of civility, and conducted him on his way with the most cordial attention. Only at Hipponium, a city of

Lucania, now called Vibo, one Vibius, a native of Sicily, who had particular obligations to him, and, among other things, had an appointment under him, when consul, as surveyor of the works, now refused to admit him into his house; but, at the same time, acquainted him that he would appoint a place in the country for his reception. And Caius Virginius*, the prætor of Sicily, though indebted to Cicero for considerable services, wrote to forbid him entrance into that island.

Discouraged at these instances of ingratitude, he repaired to Brundisium, where he embarked for Dyrrhachium. At first he had a favourable gale, but the next day the wind turned about, and drove him back to port. He set sail, however, again, as soon as the wind was fair. It is reported, that when he was going to land at Dyrrhachium, there happened to be an earthquake, and the sea retired to a great distance from the shore. The diviners inferred that his exile would be of no long continuance, for these were tokens of a sudden change. Great numbers of people came to pay their respects to him; and the cities of Greece strove which should show him the greatest civilities; yet he continued dejected and disconsolate. Like a passionate lover, he often cast a longing look towards Italy, and behaved with a littleness of spirit, which could not have been expected from a man that had enjoyed such opportunities of cultivation from letters and philosophy. Nay, he had often desired his friends not to call him an orator, but a philosopher, because he had made philosophy his business, and rhetoric only the instrument of his political operations. But opinion has great power to efface the tinctures of philosophy, and infuse the passions of the vulgar into the minds of statesmen, who have a necessary connexion and

* Some copies have it *Virgilius*.

commerce with the multitude; unless they take care so to engage in every thing extrinsic as to attend to the business only, without imbibing the passions that are the common consequence of that business.

After Clodius had banished Cicero, he burned his villas, and his house in Rome; and on the place where the latter stood, erected a temple to Liberty. His goods he put up to auction, and the crier gave notice of it every day, but no buyer appeared. By these means, he became formidable to the patricians; and having drawn the people with him into the most audacious insolence and effrontery, he attacked Pompey, and called in question some of his acts and ordinances in the wars. As this exposed Pompey to some reflections, he blamed himself greatly for abandoning Cicero; and, entirely changing his plan, took every means for effecting his return. As Clodius constantly opposed them, the senate decreed that no public business of any kind should be despatched by their body, till Cicero was recalled.

In the consulship of Lentulus the sedition increased; some of the tribunes were wounded in the *forum*; and Quintus, the brother of Cicero, was left for dead among the slain. The people began now to change their opinion; and Annius Milo, one of the tribunes, was the first who ventured to call Clodius to answer for his violation of the public peace. Many of the people of Rome, and of the neighbouring cities, joined Pompey; with whose assistance he drove Clodius out of the *forum*; and then he summoned the citizens to vote. It is said that nothing was ever carried among the commons with so great unanimity; and the senate, endeavouring to give still higher proofs of their attachment to Cicero, decreed that their thanks should be given the cities which had treated him with kindness and respect during his exile; and that his

town and country houses, which Clodius had demolished, should be rebuilt at the public charge*.

Cicero returned sixteen months after his banishment; and such joy was expressed by the cities, so much eagerness to meet him by all ranks of people, that his own account of it is less than the truth, though he said, "That Italy had brought him on her shoulders to Rome." Crassus, who was his enemy before his exile, now readily went to meet him, and was reconciled. In this, he said, he was willing to oblige his son Publius, who was a great admirer of Cicero.

Not long after his return, Cicero, taking his opportunity when Clodius was absent†, went up with a great company to the Capitol, and destroyed the tribunitial tables, in which were recorded all the acts in Clodius's time. Clodius loudly complained of this proceeding; but Cicero answered, "That his appointment as tribune was irregular, because he was of a patrician family, and consequently all his acts were invalid." Cato was displeased, and opposed Cicero in this assertion. Not that he praised Clodius; on the contrary, he was extremely offended at his administration; but he represented, "That it would be a violent stretch of prerogative, for the senate to annul so many decrees and acts, among which were his own commission and his regulations at Cyprus and Byzantium." The difference which this produced between Cato and Cicero did not

* The consuls decreed for rebuilding his house in Rome near 11,000*l*.; for his Tuscan villa near 3000*l*.; and for his Formian villa about half that sum, which Cicero called a very scanty estimate.

† Cicero had attempted this once before, when Clodius was present; but, Caius, the brother of Clodius, being prætor, by his means they were rescued out of the hands of Cicero.

come to an absolute rupture; it only lessened the warmth of their friendship.

After this Milo killed Clodius; and being arraigned for the fact, he chose Cicero for his advocate. The senate, fearing that the prosecution of a man of Milo's spirit and reputation might produce some tumult in the city, appointed Pompey to preside at this and the other trials; and to provide both for the peace of the city, and the courts of justice. In consequence of which, he posted a body of soldiers in the *forum* before day, and secured every part of it. This made Milo apprehensive that Cicero would be disconcerted at so unusual a sight, and less able to plead. He therefore persuaded him to come in a litter to the *forum*; and to repose himself there till the judges were assembled, and the court filled: for he was not only timid in war, but he had his fear when he spoke in public; and in many causes he scarce left trembling even in the height and vehemence of his eloquence. When he undertook to assist in the defence of Licinius Muræna *, against the prosecution of Cato, he was ambitious to outdo Hortensius, who had already spoken with great applause; for which reason he sat up all night to prepare himself. But that watching and application hurt him so much that he appeared inferior to his rival.

When he came out of the litter to open the cause of Milo, and saw Pompey seated on high, as in a camp, and weapons glistening all around the *forum*, he was so confounded that he could scarce begin his oration. For he shook, and his tongue faltered; though Milo attended the trial with great courage, and had disdained to let his hair grow, or to put on mourning. These circumstances contributed not a

* Muræna had retained three advocates, Hortensius, Marcus Crassus, and Cicero.

little to his condemnation. As for Cícero, his trembling was imputed rather to his anxiety for his friend than to any particular timidity.

Cicero was appointed one of the priests called Augurs, in the room of young Crassus, who was killed in the Parthian war. Afterwards the province of Cilicia was allotted to him; and he sailed thither with an army of twelve thousand foot, and two thousand six hundred horse. He had it in charge to bring Cappadocia to submit to king Ariobarzanes; which he performed to the satisfaction of all parties, without having recourse to arms. And finding the Cilicians elated on the miscarriage of the Romans in Parthia, and the commotions in Syria, he brought them to order by the gentleness of his government. He refused the presents which the neighbouring princes offered him. He excused the province from finding him a public table, and daily entertained at his own charge persons of honour and learning, not with magnificence indeed, but with elegance and propriety. He had no porter at his gate, nor did any man ever find him in bed; for he rose early in the morning, and kindly received those who came to pay their court to him, either standing or walking before his door. We are told, that he never caused any man to be beaten with rods, or to have his garments rent*; never gave opprobrious language in his anger, nor added insult to punishment. He recovered the public money which had been embezzled; and enriched the cities with it. At the same time he was satisfied, if those who had been guilty of such frauds made restitution, and fixed no mark of infamy upon them.

* This mark of ignominy was of great antiquity. "Wherefore Hanun took David's servants, and shaved off one half of their beards, and cut off their garments to the middle, even to their buttocks, and sent them away." 2 Sam. x. 4.

He had also a taste of war; for he routed the bands of robbers that had possessed themselves of Mount Amanus, and was saluted by his army *Imperator* on that account*. Cæcilius†, the orator, having desired him to send him some panthers from Cilicia for his games at Rome, in his answer he could not forbear boasting of his achievements. He said, "There were no panthers left in Cilicia. Those animals, in their vexation to find that they were the only objects of war, while every thing else was at peace, were fled into Caria."

In his return from his province he stopped at Rhodes, and afterwards made some stay at Athens; which he did with great pleasure, in remembrance of the conversations he had formerly had there. He had now the company of all that were most famed for erudition; and visited his former friends and acquaintance. After he had received all due honours and marks of esteem from Greece, he passed on to Rome, where he found the fire of dissension kindled, and every thing tending to a civil war.

When the senate decreed him a triumph, he said, "He had rather follow Cæsar's chariot wheels in his triumph, if a reconciliation could be effected between him and Pompey." And in private he tried every healing and conciliating method, by writing to Cæsar, and entreating Pompey. After it came to an open rupture, and Cæsar was on his march to Rome, Pompey did not choose to wait for him, but retired, with numbers of the principal citizens in his

* He not only received this mark of distinction, but public thanksgivings were ordered at Rome for his success; and the people went near to decree him a triumph. His services, therefore, must have been considerable, and Plutarch seems to mention them too slightly.

† Not Cæcilius, but Cælius. He was then ædile, and wanted the panthers for his public shows.

train. Cicero did not attend him in his flight; and therefore it was believed that he would join Cæsar. It is certain that he fluctuated greatly in his opinion, and was in the utmost anxiety. For, he says in his epistles, "Whither shall I turn?—Pompey has the more honourable cause; but Cæsar manages his affairs with the greatest address, and is most able to save himself and his friends. In short, I know whom to avoid, but not whom to seek." At last, one Trebatius, a friend of Cæsar's, signified to him by letter, that Cæsar thought he had reason to reckon him of his side, and to consider him as partner of his hopes. But if his age would not permit it, he might retire into Greece, and live there in tranquillity, without any connexion with either party. Cicero was surprised that Cæsar did not write himself, and answered angrily, "That he would do nothing unworthy of his political character." Such is the account we have of the matter in his epistles.

However, upon Cæsar's marching for Spain, he crossed the sea, and repaired to Pompey. His arrival was agreeable to the generality; but Cato blamed him privately for taking this measure. "As for me," said he, "it would have been wrong to leave that party which I embraced from the beginning; but you might have been much more serviceable to your country and your friends, if you had staid at Rome, and accommodated yourself to events; whereas now, without any reason or necessity, you have declared yourself an enemy to Cæsar, and are come to share in the danger with which you had nothing to do."

These arguments made Cicero change his opinion; especially when he found that Pompey did not employ him upon any considerable service. It is true, no one was to be blamed for this but himself;

for he made no secret of his repenting. He disparaged Pompey's preparations; he insinuated his dislike of his counsels, and never spared his jests upon his allies. He was not, indeed, inclined to laugh himself; on the contrary, he walked about the camp with a very solemn countenance; but he often made others laugh, though they were little inclined to it. Perhaps it may not be amiss to give a few instances. When Domitius advanced a man who had no turn for war to the rank of captain, and assigned for his reason, that he was an honest and prudent man; "Why, then," said Cicero, "do you not keep him for governor to your children?" When some were commending Theophanes the Lesbian, who was director of the board of works, for consoling the Rhodians on the loss of their fleet, "See," said Cicero, "what it is to have a Grecian director!" When Cæsar was successful in almost every instance, and held Pompey as it were besieged, Lentulus said, "He was informed that Cæsar's friends looked very sour." "You mean, I suppose," said Cicero, "that they are out of humour with him." One Martius, newly arrived from Italy, told them, a report prevailed at Rome, that Pompey was blocked up in his camp: "Then," said Cicero, "you took a voyage on purpose to see it." After Pompey's defeat, Nonnius said, there was room yet for hope, for there were seven eagles left in the camp. Cicero answered, "That would be good encouragement, if we were to fight with jackdaws." When Labianus, on the strength of some oracles, insisted that Pompey must be conqueror at last: "By this oracle, generalship," said Cicero, "we have lost our camp."

After the battle of Pharsalia (in which he was not present, on account of his ill health), and after the flight of Pompey, Cato, who had considerable forces, and a great fleet at Dyrrhachium, desired

Cicero to take the command, because his consular dignity gave him a legal title to it. Cicero, however, not only declined it, but absolutely refused taking any farther share in the war. Upon which, young Pompey and his friends called him traitor, drew their swords, and would certainly have despatched him, had not Cato interposed, and conveyed him out of the camp.

He got safe to Brundisium, and stayed there some time in expectation of Cæsar, who was detained by his affairs in Asia and Egypt. When he heard that the conqueror was arrived at Tarentum, and designed to proceed from thence by land to Brundisium, he set out to meet him; not without hope, nor yet without some shame and reluctance at the thought of trying how he stood in the opinion of a victorious enemy before so many witnesses. He had no occasion, however, either to do or to say any thing beneath his dignity. Cæsar no sooner beheld him, at some considerable distance, advancing before the rest, than he dismounted, and ran to embrace him; after which he went on discoursing with him alone for many furlongs. He continued to treat him with great kindness and respect: insomuch that when he had written an encomium on Cato, which bore the name of that great man, Cæsar, in his answer, entitled *Anticato*, praised both the eloquence and conduct of Cicero; and said he greatly resembled Pericles and Theramenes.

When Quintus Ligarius was prosecuted for bearing arms against Cæsar, and Cicero had undertaken to plead his cause, Cæsar is reported to have said, "Why may we not give ourselves a pleasure which we have not enjoyed so long, that of hearing Cicero speak; since I have already taken my resolution as to Ligarius, who is clearly a bad man, as well as my enemy?" But he was greatly moved when Cicero

began ; and his speech, as it proceeded, had such a variety of pathos, so irresistible a charm, that his colour often changed, and it was evident that his mind was torn with conflicting passions. At last, when the orator touched on the battle of Pharsalia, he was so extremely affected, that his whole frame trembled, and he let drop some papers out of his hand. Thus conquered by the force of eloquence, he acquitted Ligarius.

The commonwealth being changed into a monarchy, Cicero withdrew from the scene of public business, and bestowed his leisure on the young men, who were desirous to be instructed in philosophy. As these were of the best families, by his interest with them, he once more obtained great authority in Rome. He made it his business to compose and translate philosophical dialogues, and, to render the Greek terms of logic and natural philosophy in the Roman language. For it is said, that he first, or principally, at least, gave Latin terms for these Greek words, *phantasia* [imagination], *synkathesis* [assent], *epoche* [doubt], *catalepsis* [comprehension], *atomos* [atom], *ameres* [indivisible], *kenon* [void], and many other such terms in science ; contriving either by metaphorical expression, or strict translation, to make them intelligible and familiar to the Romans. His ready turn for poetry afforded him amusement ; for, we are told, when he was intent upon it, he could make five hundred verses in one night. As in this period he spent most of his time at his Tusculan villa, he wrote to his friends, " That he led the life of Laertes ;" either by way of raillery, as his custom was, or from an ambitious desire of public employment, and discontent in his present situation. Be that as it may, he rarely went to Rome, and then only to pay his court to Cæsar. He was always one of the first to vote

him additional honours, and forward to say something new of him and his actions. Thus, when Cæsar ordered Pompey's statues, which had been pulled down, to be erected again, Cicero said, "That by this act of humanity in setting up Pompey's statues, he had established his own."

It is reported that he had formed a design to write the history of his own country, in which he would have interwoven many of the Grecian affairs, and inserted not only their speeches, but fables. But he was prevented by many disagreeable circumstances, both public and private, into most of which he brought himself by his own indiscretion. For, in the first place, he divorced his wife Terentia. The reasons he assigned were, that she had neglected him during the war, and even sent him out without necessities. Besides, after his return to Italy, she behaved to him with little regard, and did not wait on him during his long stay at Brundisium. Nay, when his daughter, at that time very young, took so long a journey to see him, she allowed her but an indifferent equipage and insufficient supplies. Indeed, according to his account, his house was become naked and empty through the many debts which she had contracted. These were the most specious pretences for the divorce. Terentia, however, denied all these charges; and Cicero himself made a full apology for her, by marrying a younger woman not long after. Terentia said she took her merely for her beauty; but his freedman Tyro affirms that he married her for her wealth, that it might enable him to pay his debts. She was, indeed, very rich, and her fortune was in the hands of Cicero, who was left her guardian. As his debts were great, his friends and relations persuaded him to marry the young lady, notwithstanding the disparity of years, and satisfy his creditors out of her fortune.

Antony, in his answer to the Philippics, taxes him with "Repudiating a wife with whom he was grown old *;" and rallies him on account of his perpetually keeping at home, like a man unfit either for business or war. Not long after this match, his daughter Tullia, who, after the death of Piso, had married Lentulus, died in childbed. The philosophers came from all parts to comfort him: for his loss affected him extremely; and he even put away his new bride, because she seemed to rejoice at the death of Tullia. In this posture were Cicero's domestic affairs.

As to those of the public, he had no share in the conspiracy against Cæsar, though he was one of Brutus's particular friends; and no man was more uneasy under the new establishment, or more desirous of having the commonwealth restored. Possibly they feared his natural deficiency of courage, as well as his time of life, at which the boldest begin to droop. After the work was done by Brutus and Cassius, the friends of Cæsar assembled to revenge his death; and it was apprehended that Rome would again be plunged in civil wars. Antony, who was consul, ordered a meeting of the senate, and made a short speech on the necessity of union. But Cicero expatiated in a manner suitable to the occasion; and persuaded the senate, in imitation of the Athenians, to pass a general amnesty as to all that had been done against Cæsar, and to decree provinces to Brutus and Cassius.

None of these things, however, took effect: for the people were inclined to pity on this event; and when they beheld the dead body of Cæsar carried into the forum, where Antony showed them his robe stained with blood, and pierced on all sides with swords, they broke out into a transport of rage.

* Cicero was then sixty-two.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES.

They fought all over the forum for the actors in that play, and ran with lighted torches to burn their houses. By their precaution they escaped this danger; but as they saw others, no less considerable, impending, they left the city.

Antony, elated with this advantage, became formidable to all the opposite party, who supposed that he would aim at nothing less than absolute power; but Cicero had particular reason to dread him. For being sensible that Cicero's weight in the administration was established again, and of his strong attachment to Brutus, Antony could hardly bear his presence. Besides, there had long been some jealousy and dislike between them on account of the dissimilarity of their lives. Cicero, fearing the event, was inclined to go with Dolabella into Syria, as his lieutenant. But afterwards Hirtius and Pansa, who were to be consuls after Antony, persons of great merit, and good friends to Cicero, desired him not to leave them; and promised, with his assistance, to destroy Antony. Cicero, without depending much on their scheme, gave up that of going with Dolabella, and agreed with the consuls elect to pass the summer in Athens, and return when they entered upon their office.

Accordingly he embarked for that place without taking any principal Roman along with him. But his voyage being accidentally retarded, news was brought from Rome (for he did not choose to be without news), that there was a wonderful change in Antony; that he took all his steps agreeably to the sense of the senate; and that nothing but his presence was wanting to bring matters to the best establishment. He therefore condemned his excessive caution, and returned to Rome.

His first hopes were not disappointed. Such crowds came out to meet him, that almost a whole

day was spent at the gates, and on his way home, in compliments and congratulations. Next day Antony convened the senate, and sent for Cicero; but he kept his bed, pretending that he was indisposed with his journey. In reality he seems to have been afraid of assassination, in consequence of some hints he received by the way. Antony was extremely incensed at these suggestions, and ordered a party of soldiers either to bring him, or to burn his house in case of refusal. However, at the request of numbers who interposed, he revoked that order, and bade them only bring a pledge from his house.

After this, when they happened to meet, they passed each other in silence, and lived in mutual distrust. Meantime young Cæsar, arriving from Apollonia, put in his claim as heir to his uncle, and sued Antony for twenty-five million drachmas*, which he detained of the estate.

Hereupon Philip, who had married the mother, and Marcellus, who was husband to the sister of Octavius, brought him to Cicero. It was agreed between them, that Cicero should assist Cæsar with his eloquence and interest, both with the senate and the people; and that Cæsar should give Cicero all the protection that his wealth and military influence could afford: for the young man had already collected a considerable number of the veterans who had served under his uncle.

Cicero received the offer of his friendship with pleasure. For while Pompey and Cæsar were living, Cicero, it seems, had a dream, in which he thought he called some boys, the sons of senators, up to the Capitol, because Jupiter designed to pitch upon one of them for sovereign of Rome. The citizens ran with all the eagerness of expectation, and

* Plutarch is mistaken in the sum. It appears from *Patriculus* and others, that it was seven times as much.

placed themselves about the temple; and the boys in their *paetextæ* sat silent. The doors suddenly opening, the boys rose up one by one, and, in their order, passed round the god, who reviewed them all, and sent them away disappointed: but when Octavius approached, he stretched out his hand to him, and said, "Romans, this is the person who, when he comes to be your prince, will put an end to your civil wars." This vision, they tell us, made such an impression upon Cicero, that he perfectly retained the figure and countenance of the boy, though he did not yet know him. Next day he went down to the Campus Martius, when the boys were just returning from their exercises; and the first who struck his eye was the lad in the very form that he had seen in his dream. Astonished at the discovery, Cicero asked him who were his parents; and he proved to be the son of Octavius, a person not much distinguished in life, and of Attia, sister to Cæsar. As he was so near a relation, and Cæsar had no children of his own, he adopted him, and, by will, left him his estate. Cicero, after his dream, whenever he met young Octavius, is said to have treated him with particular regard; and he received those marks of his friendship with great satisfaction. Besides, he happened to be born the year that Cicero was consul.

These were pretended to be the causes of their present connexion. But the leading motive with Cicero was his hatred of Antony; and the next his natural avidity of glory. For he hoped to throw the weight of Octavius into the scale of the commonwealth; and the latter behaved to him with such a puerile deference, that he even called him father. Hence Brutus, in his letters to Atticus, expressed his indignation against Cicero, and said, "That, as through fear of Antony he paid his court to young

Cæsar, it was plain that he took not his measures for the liberty of his country, but only to obtain a gentle master for himself." Nevertheless, Brutus finding the son of Cicero at Athens, where he was studying under the philosophers, gave him a command, and employed him upon many services which proved successful.

Cicero's power at this time was at its greatest height; he carried every point that he desired; in-somuch that he expelled Antony, and raised such a spirit against him, that the consuls Hirtius and Pansa were sent to give him battle; and Cicero likewise prevailed upon the senate to grant Cæsar the fasces, with the dignity of prætor, as one that was fighting for his country.

Antony, indeed, was beaten; but both the consuls falling in the action, the troops ranged themselves under the banners of Cæsar. The senate now fearing the views of a young man who was so much favoured by fortune, endeavoured by honours and gifts to draw his forces from him and to diminish his power. They alleged, that, as Antony was put to flight, there was no need to keep such an army on foot. Cæsar, alarmed at these vigorous measures, privately sent some friends to entreat and persuade Cicero to procure the consulship for them both; promising, at the same time, that he should direct all affairs according to his better judgment, and find him perfectly tractable, who was but a youth, and had no ambition for any thing but the title and the honour. Cæsar himself acknowledged afterwards, that, in his apprehensions of being entirely ruined and deserted, he seasonably availed himself of Cicero's ambition, persuaded him to stand for the consulship, and undertook to support his application with his whole interest.

In this case particularly, Cicero, old as he was,

suffered himself to be imposed upon by this young man, solicited the people for him, and brought the senate into his interest. His friends blamed him for it at the time; and it was not long before he was sensible that he had ruined himself, and given up the liberties of his country: for Cæsar was no sooner strengthened with the consular authority, than he gave up Cicero*; and reconciling himself to Antony and Lepidus, he united his power with theirs, and divided the empire among them, as if it had been a private estate. At the same time they proscribed about two hundred persons whom they had pitched upon for a sacrifice. The greatest difficulty and dispute was about the proscription of Cicero: for Antony would come to no terms till he was first taken off. Lepidus agreed with Antony in this preliminary, but Cæsar opposed them both. They had a private congress for these purposes near the city of Bononia, which lasted three days. The place where they met was over against their camps, a little island in the river. Cæsar is said to have contended for Cicero the two first days; but the third he gave him up. The sacrifices on each part were these: Cæsar was to abandon Cicero to his fate; Lepidus, his brother Paulus; and Antony, Lucius Cæsar, his uncle by the mother's side. Thus rage and rancour entirely stifled in them all sentiments of humanity; or, more properly speaking, they showed that no beast is more savage than man, when he is possessed of power equal to his passion.

While his enemies were thus employed, Cicero was at his Tusculan villa, and his brother Quintus with him. When they were informed of the proscription, they determined to remove to Astyra, a country-house of Cicero's near the sea; where they

* Instead of taking him for his colleague, he chose Quintus Pedius.

intended to take a ship, and repair to Brutus in Macedonia; for it was reported, that he was already very powerful in those parts. They were carried in their separate litters, oppressed with sorrow and despair; and often joining their litters on the road, they stopped to bemoan their mutual misfortunes. Quintus was the more dejected, because he was in want of necessaries; for, as he said, he had brought nothing from home with him. Cicero, too, had but a slender provision. They concluded, therefore, that it would be best for Cicero to hasten his flight, and for Quintus to return to his house, and get some supplies. This resolution being fixed upon, they embraced each other with every expression of sorrow, and then parted.

A few days after, Quintus and his son were betrayed by his servants to the assassins who came in quest of them, and lost their lives. As for Cicero, he was carried to Astyra; where finding a vessel, he immediately went on board, and coasted along to Circæum with a favourable wind. The pilots were preparing immediately to sail from thence; but whether it was that he feared the sea, or had not yet given up all his hopes in Cæsar, he disembarked, and traveled a hundred furlongs on foot, as if Rome had been the place of his destination. Repenting, however, afterwards, he left that road, and made again for the sea. He passed the night in the most perplexing and horrid thoughts; insomuch that he was sometimes inclined to go privately into Cæsar's house, and stab himself upon the altar of his domestic gods, to bring the divine vengeance upon his betrayer. But he was deterred from this by the fear of torture. Other alternatives, equally distressful, presented themselves. At last, he put himself in the hands of his servants, and ordered them to

carry him by sea to Cajeta*, where he had a delightful retreat in the summer, when the Etesian winds set in†. There was a temple of Apollo on that coast, from which a flight of crows came, with great noise, towards Cicero's vessel, as it was making land. They perched on both sides the sailyard, where some sat croaking and others pecking the ends of the ropes. All looked upon this as an ill omen; yet Cicero went on shore, and, entering his house, lay down to repose himself. In the meantime a number of the crows settled in the chamber-window, and croaked in the most doleful manner. One of them even entered in, and alighting on the bed, attempted, with its beak, to draw off the clothes with which he had covered his face. On sight of this, the servants began to reproach themselves. "Shall we," said they, "remain to be spectators of our master's murder? Shall we not protect him, so innocent and so great a sufferer as he is, when the brute creatures give him marks of their care and attention?" Then partly by entreaty, partly by force, they got him into his litter, and carried him towards the sea.

Meantime the assassins came up. They were commanded by Herennius, a centurion, and Pompeius, a tribune, whom Cicero had formerly defended when under a prosecution for parricide. The doors of the house being made fast, they broke them open. Still Cicero did not appear, and the servants who were left behind said they knew nothing of him. But a young man, named Philologus, his brother Quintus's freedman, whom Cicero had instructed in

* According to Appian, Cicero was killed near Capua; but Valerius Maximus says, the scene of that tragedy was at Cajeta.

† The north-east winds.

the liberal arts and sciences, informed the tribune, that they were carrying the litter through deep shades to the seaside. The tribune, taking a few soldiers with him, ran to the end of the walk where he was to come out. But Cicero perceiving that Herennius was hastening after him, ordered his servants to set the litter down; and putting his left hand to his chin, as it was his custom to do, he looked steadfastly upon his murderers. Such an appearance of misery in his face, overgrown with hair, and wasted with anxiety, so much affected the attendants of Herennius that they covered their faces during the melancholy scene. That officer despatched him, while he stretched his neck out of the litter to receive the blow. Thus fell Cicero, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. Herennius off his head, and, by Antony's command, his ha too, with which he had written the *Philippics*, was the title he gave his orations against, and they retain it to this day.

When these parts of Cicero's body were brought to Rome, Antony happened to be holding an assembly for the election of magistrates. He no sooner beheld them, than he cried out, "Now let there be an end of all proscriptions." He ordered the head and hands to be fastened up over the rostrum, a dreadful spectacle to the Roman people, who thought they did not so much see the face of Cicero, as a picture of Antony's soul. Yet he did one act of justice on this occasion, which was the delivering up Philologus to Pomponia the wife of Quintus. When she was mistress of his fate, beside other horrid punishments, she made him cut off his own flesh by piecemeal, and roast and eat it. This is the account some historians give us; but Tyro, Cicero's freedman, makes no mention of the treachery of Philologus.

I am informed, that a long time after, Cæsar going to see one of his grandsons, found him with a book of Cicero's in his hands. The boy, alarmed at the accident, endeavoured to hide the book under his robe; which Cæsar perceived, and took it from him; and after having run most of it over as he stood, he returned it, and said, "My dear child, this was an eloquent man, and a lover of his country."

Being consul at the time when he conquered Antony, he took the son of Cicero for his colleague; under whose auspices the senate took down the statues of Antony, defaced all the monuments of his honour, and decreed, that, for the future, none of his family should bear the name of Marcus. Thus the divine justice reserved the completion of Antony's punishment for the house of Cicero.

DEMOSTHENES AND CICERO COMPARED.

Among the most memorable circumstances in the lives of Demosthenes and Cicero that could be collected from the historians which have come to our knowledge. Though I shall not pretend to compare their talents for speaking; yet this, I think, I ought to observe, that Demosthenes, by the exertion of his powers, both natural and acquired, soon distinguished himself, and came to exceed in energy and strength of mind the celebrated pleaders of his time; in grandeur and magnificence of style, all that were famous for the sublime of declamation; and in accuracy of art, the most able professors of rhetoric. Cicero's studies were more general; and, in his treatises of

knowledge, he had a great variety. He has left us a number of philosophical tracts, which he composed upon the principles of the academy. And we see something of an ostentation of learning in the very orations which he wrote for the forum, and the bar.

Their different tempers are discernible in their way of writing. That of Demosthenes, without any embellishments of wit and humour, is always grave and serious. Nor does it smell of the lamp, as Pytheas tauntingly said, but of the water-drinker, of the man of thought, of one who was characterized by the austerities of life. But Cicero, who loved to indulge his vein of pleasantry, so much affected the wit that he sometimes sunk into the buffoon; and by affecting gaiety in the most serious things to serve his client, he has offended against the rules of propriety and decorum. Thus, in his oration for Cælius, he says, "Where is the absurdity of a man, with an affluent fortune at command, who does not enjoy what is in his power; particularly when one of the greatest philosophers places his chief good in pleasure?"

When Cato impeached Murena, Cicero, who was then consul undertook his defence; and, in his speaking, took occasion to ridicule several paradoxes of the stoics, because Cato was of that sect. He proceeded so far as to raise a laugh in the assembly, and even among the judges. Upon which, Cato smiled, and said to those who sat by him, "What a pleasant consul we have!" Cicero, indeed, was naturally facetious; and he not only loved to jest, but his countenance was gay and smiling.

Plutarch has not quoted this passage with accuracy. Cicero apologizes for the excesses of youth; but does not disapprove the pursuit of pleasure.

Demosthenes had a care and thoughtfulness in his aspect, which he seldom or never put off. Hence his enemies, as he confesses, called him a morose ill natured man.

It appears also from their writings, that Demosthenes, when he touches upon his own praise, does it with an inoffensive delicacy. Indeed he never gives into it at all, but when he has some great point in view; and on all other occasion is extremely modest. But Cicero, in his orations, speaks in such high terms of himself that it is plain he had a most intemperate vanity. Thus he cries out:

Let arms revere the robe, the warrior's laurel
Yield to the palm of eloquence.

At length he came to commend not only his own actions and operations in the commonwealth, but his orations too, as well those which he had only pronounced as those he had committed to writing, as if, with a juvenile vanity, he were vying with the rhetoricians Isocrates and Anaximenes, instead of being inspired with the great ambition of guiding the Roman people,

Fierce in the field, and dreadful to the foe.

It is necessary, indeed, for a statesman to have the advantage of eloquence; but it is mean and illiberal to rest in such a qualification, or to hunt after praise in that quarter. In this respect Demosthenes behaved with more dignity, with a superior elevation of soul. He said, "His ability to explain himself was a mere acquisition; and not so perfect but that it required great candour and indulgence in the audience." He thought it must be, as indeed it is, only a low and little mind, that can value itself upon such attainments.

They both, undoubtedly, had political abilities,

as well as powers to persuade. They had them in such a degree that men, who had armies at their devotion, stood in need of their support. Thus Chares, Diopithes, and Leosthenes availed themselves of Demosthenes; Pompey and young Cæsar, of Cicero; as Cæsar himself acknowledges in his commentaries addressed to Agrippa and Mæcenas.

It is an observation no less just than common, that nothing makes so thorough a trial of a man's disposition, as power and authority: for they awake every passion, and discover every latent vice. Demosthenes never had an opportunity for a trial of this kind. He never obtained any eminent charge; nor did he lead those armies against Philip, which his eloquence had raised. But Cicero went quæstor into Sicily, and proconsul into Cilicia and Cappadocia; at a time, too, when avarice reigned without control; when the governors of provinces, thinking it beneath them to take a clandestine advantage, fell to open plunder; when to take another's property was thought no great crime, and he who took moderately passed for a man of character. Yet, at such a time as this, Cicero gave many proofs of his contempt of money; many of his humanity and goodness. At Rome, with the title only of consul, he had an absolute and dictatorial power against Catiline and his accomplices. On which occasion he verified the prediction of Plato, "That every state will be delivered from its calamities, when, by the favour of fortune, great power unites with wisdom and justice in one person."

It is mentioned, to the disgrace of Demosthenes, that his eloquence was mercenary; that he privately composed orations both for Phormio and Apollodorus, though adversaries in the same cause. To which we may add, that he was suspected of receiving money from the king of Persia, and condemned

for taking bribes of Harpalus. Supposing some of these the calumnies of those who wrote against him (and they are not a few); yet it is impossible to affirm that he was proof against the presents which were sent him by princes, as marks of honour and respect. This was too much to be expected from a man who vested his money at interest upon ships. Cicero, on the other hand, had magnificent presents sent him by the Sicilians, when he was ædile; by the king of Cappadocia, when proconsul; and his friends pressed him to receive their benefactions, when in exile; yet, as we have already observed, he refused them all.

The banishment of Demosthenes reflected infamy upon him; for he was convicted of taking bribes: that of Cicero, great honour; because he suffered for destroying traitors, who had vowed the ruin of their country. The former, therefore, departed without exciting pity or regret: for the latter, the senate changed their habit, continued in mourning, and could not be persuaded to pass any act till the people had recalled him. Cicero, indeed, spent the time of exile in an inactive manner in Macedonia; but with Demosthenes it was a busy period in his political character. Then it was (as we have mentioned above) that he went to the several cities of Greece, strengthened the common interest, and defeated the designs of the Macedonian ambassadors. In which respect he discovered a much greater regard for his country than Themistocles and Alcibiades, when under the same misfortune. After his return, he pursued his former plan of government, and continued the war with Antipater and the Macedonians. Whereas Lælius reproached Cicero in full senate with sitting silent, when Cæsar, who was not yet come to years of maturity, applied for the consulship contrary to law. And Brutus, in one of

his letters, charged him with "having reared a greater and more insupportable tyranny than that which they had destroyed."

As to the manner of their death, we cannot think of Cicero's without a contemptuous kind of pity. How deplorable to see an old man, for want of proper resolution, suffering himself to be carried about by his servants, endeavouring to hide himself from death, which was a messenger that nature would soon have sent him, and overtaken notwithstanding and slaughtered by his enemies! The other, though he did discover some fear, by taking sanctuary, is, nevertheless, to be admired for the provision he had made of poison, for the care with which he had preserved it, and his noble manner of using it. So that, when Neptune did not afford him an asylum, he had recourse to a more inviolable altar, rescued himself from the weapons of the guards, and eluded the cruelty of Antipater.

DEMETRIUS,

THOSE who first thought that the arts might be compared to the senses, in the perception of their respective objects, appear to me to have well understood the power by which that perception was to be formed, the power of distinguishing contrary qualities; for this they have in common. But in the mode of distinguishing, as well as in the end of what is distinguished, they evidently differ. The senses, for instance, have no connate power of perceiving a white object more than a black one; what is sweet more than what is bitter; or what is soft and yielding, more than what is hard and solid. Their office is to receive impressions from such objects as strike upon them, and to convey those impressions to the mind. But the operation of the arts is more rational. They are not, like the senses, passive in their perceptions. They choose or reject what is proper or improper. What is good they attend to primarily and intentionally; and what is evil, only accidentally, in order to avoid it. Thus, the art of medicine considers the nature of diseases; and music that of discordant sounds, in order to produce their contraries. And the most excellent of all arts, temperance, justice, and prudence, teach us to judge not only of what is honourable, just, and useful, but also of what is pernicious, disgraceful, and unjust. These arts bestow no praise on that innocence which boasts of an entire ignorance of vice; in their reckoning, it is rather an absurd simplicity to be ignorant of those things, which every man that is disposed to live virtuously should make it his particular care to know. Accordingly the an-

cient Spartans, at their feasts, used to compel the helots to drink an excessive quantity of wine, and then bring them into the public halls where they dined, to show the young men what drunkenness was.

We do not, indeed, think it agreeable, either to humanity or good policy, to corrupt some of the species, in order not to corrupt others. Yet, perhaps, it may not be amiss to insert among the rest of the lives, a few examples of those who have abused their power to the purposes of licentiousness, and whose elevation has only made their vices greater and more conspicuous. Not that we adduce them to give pleasure, or to adorn our paintings with the graces of variety; but we do it from the same motive with Ismenias the Theban musician, who presented his scholars both with good and bad performers on the flute; and used to say, "Thus you must play, and, Thus you must not play." And Antigenidas observed, "That young men would hear able performers with much greater pleasure, after they had heard bad ones." In like manner, according to my opinion, we shall behold and imitate the virtuous with greater attention, if we be not entirely unacquainted with the characters of the vicious and infamous.

In this book, therefore, we shall give the lives of Demetrius surnamed *Poliorcetes*, and of Antony the *triumvir*: men who have most remarkably verified that observation of Plato, "That great parts produce great vices, as well as virtues." They were equally addicted to wine and women; both excellent soldiers, and persons of great munificence; but, at the same time, prodigal and insolent. There was the same resemblance in their fortune: for, in the course of their lives, they met both with great success, and great disappointments; now, extend-

ing their conquests with the utmost rapidity, and now losing all; now falling beyond all expectation; and now recovering themselves when there was as little prospect of such a change. This similarity there was in their lives; and in the concluding scene there was not much difference; for the one was taken by his enemies, and died in captivity, and the other was near sharing the same fate.

Antigonus having two sons by Stratonice, the daughter of Corraeus, called the one after his brother, Demetrius, and the other after his father, Philip. So most historians say. But some affirm that Demetrius was not the son of Antigonus, but his nephew; and that his father dying and leaving him an infant, and his mother soon after marrying Antigonus, he was, on that account, considered as his son. Philip, who was not many years younger than Demetrius, died at an early period. Demetrius, though tall, was not equal in size to his father Antigonus. But his beauty and mien were so inimitable that no statuary or painter could hit off a likeness. His countenance had a mixture of grace and dignity; and was at once amiable and awful; and the unsubdued and eager air of youth was blended with the majesty of the hero and the king. There was the same happy mixture in his behaviour, which inspired, at the same time, both pleasure and awe. In his hours of leisure, a most agreeable companion; in his table, and every species of entertainment, of all princes the most delicate; and yet, when business called, nothing could equal his activity, his diligence, and despatch. In which respect he imitated Bacchus most of all the gods; since he was not only terrible in war, but knew how to terminate war with peace, and turn with the happiest address to the joys and pleasures which that inspires.

His affection for his father was remarkably great;

and in the respect he paid his mother, his love for his other parent was very discernible. His duty was genuine, and not in the least influenced by the considerations of high station or power. Demetrius happening to come from hunting, when his father was giving audience to some ambassadors, went up and saluted him, and then sat down by him with his javelins in his hand. After they had received their answer, and were going away, Antigonus called out to them, and said, "You may mention, too, the happy terms upon which I am with my son." By which he gave them to understand, that the harmony and confidence in which they lived, added strength to the kingdom, and security to his power. So incapable is regal authority of admitting a partner, so liable to jealousy and hatred, that the greatest and oldest of Alexander's successors rejoiced that he had no occasion to fear his own son, but could freely let him approach him with his weapons in his hand. Indeed, we may venture to say, that this family alone, in the course of many successions, was free from these evils. Of all the descendants of Antigonus, Philip was the only prince who put his son to death; whereas, in the families of other kings, nothing is more common than the murders of sons, mothers, and wives. As for the killing of brothers, like a *postulatum* in geometry, it was considered as indisputably necessary to the safety of the reigning prince.

That Demetrius was originally well disposed by nature to the offices of humanity and friendship, the following is a proof. Mithridates, the son of Ariobarzanes, was of the same age, and his constant companion. He was likewise one of the attendants of Antigonus, and bore an unblemished character. Yet Antigonus conceived some suspicion of him from a dream. He thought he entered a large and

beautiful field, and sowed it with filings of gold. This produced a crop of the same precious metal; but coming a little after to visit it, he found it was cut, and nothing left but the stalks. As he was in great distress about his loss, he heard some people say, that Mithridates had reaped the golden harvest, and was gone with it towards the Euxine sea.

Disturbed at the dream, he communicated it to his son, having first made him swear to keep it secret, and, at the same time, informed him of his absolute determination to destroy Mithridates. Demetrius was exceedingly concerned at the affair; but though his friend waited on him as usual, that they might pursue their diversions together, he durst not speak to him on the subject, because of his oath. By degrees, however, he drew him aside from the rest of his companions; and when they were alone, he wrote on the ground, with the bottom of his spear, "Fly, Mithridates." The young man understanding his danger, fled that night into Cappadocia; and fate soon accomplished the dream of Antigonus. For Mithridates conquered a rich and extensive country, and founded the family of the Pontic kings, which continued through eight successions, and was at last destroyed by the Romans. This is a sufficient evidence that Demetrius was naturally well inclined to justice and humanity.

But as, according to Empedocles, love and hatred are the sources of perpetual wars between the elements, particularly such as touch or approach each other; so among the successors of Alexander there were continual wars; and the contentions were always the most violent when inflamed by the opposition of interest, or vicinity of place. This was the case of Antigonus and Ptolemy. Antigonus, while he resided in Phrygia, received information that Ptolemy was gone from Cyprus into Syria, where he was re-

vaging the country, and reducing the cities either by solicitation or force. Upon this he sent his son Demetrius against him, though he was only twenty-two years of age; and in this first command had the greatest and most difficult affairs to manage. But a young and unexperienced man was unequally matched with a general from the school of Alexander, who had distinguished himself in many important combats under that prince. Accordingly, he was defeated near Gaza; five thousand of his men were killed, and eight thousand taken prisoners. He lost also his tents, his military chest, and his whole equipage. But Ptolemy sent them back to him, together with his friends; adding this generous and obliging message, "That they ought only to contend for glory and empire." When Demetrius received it, he begged of the gods, "That he might not long be Ptolemy's debtor, but soon have it in his power to return the favour." Nor was he disconcerted, as most young men would be, with such a miscarriage in his first essay. On the contrary, like a complete general, accustomed to the vicissitudes of fortune, he employed himself in making new levies and providing arms; he kept the cities to their duty, and exercised the troops he had raised.

As soon as Antigonus was apprised how the battle went, he said, "Ptolemy has, indeed, beaten boys, but he shall soon have to do with men." However, as he did not choose to repress the spirit of his son, on his request, he gave him permission to try his fortune again by himself. Not long after this, Cilles, Ptolemy's general, undertook to drive Demetrius entirely out of Syria; for which purpose he brought with him a numerous army, though he held him in contempt on account of his late defeat. But Demetrius, by a sudden attack, struck his adversaries with such a panic that both the camp and the general fell

into his hands, together with very considerable treasures. Yet he did not consider the gain, but the ability to give: nor so much valued the glory and riches which this advantage brought him, as its enabling him to requite the generosity of Ptolemy. He was not, however, for proceeding upon his own judgment; he consulted his father; and, on his free permission to act as he thought proper, loaded Ciltes and his friends with his favours, and sent them back to their master. By this turn of affairs, Ptolemy lost his footing in Syria; and Antigonus marched down from Celænæ, rejoicing in his son's success, and impatient to embrace him.

Demetrius, after this, being sent to subdue the Nabathæan Arabs, found himself in great danger, by falling into a desert country, which afforded no water. But the barbarians, astonished at his uncommon intrepidity, did not venture to attack him; and he retired with a considerable booty, amongst which were seven hundred camels.

Antigonus had formerly taken Babylon from Seleucus; but he had recovered it by his own arms; and was now marching with his main army, to reduce the nations which bordered upon India, and the provinces about Mount Caucasus. Meantime Demetrius, hoping to find Mesopotamia unguarded, suddenly passed the Euphrates, and fell upon Babylon. There were two strong castles in that city; but by this manœuvre in the absence of Seleucus, he seized one of them, dislodged the garrison, and placed there seven thousand of his own men. After this, he ordered the rest of his soldiers to plunder the country for their own use, and then returned to the seacoast. By these proceedings he left Seleucus better established in his dominions than ever; for his laying waste the country, seemed as if he had no farther claim to it.

In his return through Syria, he was informed that Ptolemy was besieging Halicarnassus; upon which he hastened to its relief, and obliged him to retire. As this ambition to succour the distressed gained Antigonus and Demetrius great reputation, they conceived a strong desire to rescue all Greece from the slavery it was held in by Cassander and Ptolemy. No prince ever engaged in a more just and honourable war. For they employed the wealth which they had gained by the conquest of the barbarians, for the advantage of the Greeks; solely with a view to the honour that such an enterprise promised.

When they had resolved to begin their operations with Athens, one of his friends advised Antigonus, if he took the city, to keep it, as the key of Greece; but that prince would not listen to him. He said, "The best and securest of all keys was the friendship of the people; and that Athens was the watch-tower of the world, from whence the torch of his glory would blaze over the earth."

In consequence of these resolutions, Demetrius sailed to Athens with five thousand talents of silver, and a fleet of two hundred and fifty ships. Demetrius, the Phalerean, governed the city for Cassander, and had a good garrison in the fort of Munychia. His adversary, who managed the affair, both with prudence and good fortune, made his appearance before the Piræus on the twenty-fifth of May*. The town had no information of his approach; and when they saw his fleet coming in, they concluded that it belonged to Ptolemy, and prepared to receive it as such. But at last the officers who commanded in the city, being undeceived, ran to oppose it. All the tumult and confusion followed, which was natural when an enemy came unexpected, and was already landing. For Demetrius finding the mouth of the

* *Thargelion.*

harbour open, ran in with ease; and the people could plainly distinguish him on the deck of his ship, whence he made signs to them to compose themselves and keep silence. They complied with his demand; and a herald was ordered to proclaim, "That his father Antigonus, in a happy hour he hoped for Athens, had sent him to reinstate them in their liberties, by expelling the garrison, and to restore their laws and ancient form of government."

Upon this proclamation, the people threw down their arms, and receiving the proposal with loud acclamations, desired Demetrius to land, and called him their benefactor and deliverer. Demetrius, the Phalerean, and his partisans, thought it necessary to receive a man who came with such a superior force, though he should perform none of his promises, and accordingly sent deputies to make their submission. Demetrius received them in an obliging manner, and sent back with them Aristodemus the Milesian, a friend of his father's. At the same time, he was not unmindful of Demetrius the Phalerean, who, in this revolution, was more afraid of the citizens than of the enemy; but out of regard to his character and virtue, sent him with a strong convoy to Thebes, agreeably to his request. He likewise assured the Athenians, that however desirous he might be to see their city, he would deny himself that pleasure till he had set it entirely free, by expelling the garrison. He therefore surrounded the fortress of Munychia with a ditch and rampart, to cut off its communication with the rest of the city, and then sailed to Megara, where Cassander had another garrison.

On his arrival, he was informed, that Cratesipolis, the wife of Alexander the son of Polyperchon, a celebrated beauty, was at Patræ, and had a desire to see him. In consequence of which he left his forces in the territory of Megara, and with a few light horse

took the road to Patræ. When he was near the place, he drew off from his men, and pitched his tent apart, that Cratesipolis might not be perceived when she came to pay her visit. But a party of the enemy getting intelligence of this, fell suddenly upon him. In his alarm, he had only time to throw over him a mean cloak; and, in that disguise, saved himself by flight. So near an infamous captivity had his intemperate love of beauty brought him. As for his tent, the enemy took it, with all the riches it contained.

After Megara was taken, the soldiers prepared to plunder it; but the Athenians interceded strongly for that people, and prevailed. Demetrius was satisfied with expelling the garrison, and declared the city free. Amidst these transactions, he bethought himself of Stilpo, a philosopher of great reputation, who sought only the retirement and tranquillity of a studious life. He sent for him, and asked him, "Whether they had taken any thing from him?" "No," said Stilpo, "I found none that wanted to steal any knowledge." The soldiers, however, had clandestinely carried off almost all the slaves. Therefore, when Demetrius paid his respects to him again, on leaving the place, he said, "Stilpo, I leave you entirely free." "True," answered Stilpo, "for you have not left a slave among us."

Demetrius then returned to the siege of Munychia, dislodged the garrison, and demolished the fortress. After which the Athenians pressed him to enter the city, and he complied. Having assembled the people, he reestablished the commonwealth in its ancient form; and, moreover, promised them, in the name of his father, a hundred and fifty thousand measures* of wheat, and timber enough to build a hundred galleys. Thus they recovered the demo-

* Medimni.

crazy fifteen years after it was dissolved. During the interval, after the Lamian war, and the battle of Cranon, the government was called an oligarchy, but in fact, was monarchical; for the power of Demetrius, the Phalerean, met with no control.

Their deliverer appeared glorious in his services to Athens; but they rendered him obnoxious by the extravagant honours they decreed him. For they were the first who gave him and his father Antigonus the title of kings, which they had hitherto religiously avoided; and which was, indeed, the only thing left the descendants of Philip and Alexander, uninvaded by their generals. In the next place, they alone * honoured them with the appellation of the gods protectors; and, instead of denominating the year as formerly, from the *archon*, they abolished his office, created annually in his room a priest of those gods protectors, and prefixed his name to all their public acts. They likewise ordered that their portraits should be wrought in the holy veil with those of the other gods†. They consecrated the place where their patron first alighted from his chariot, and erected an altar there to DEMETRIUS *Catabates*. They added two to the number of their

* No other people were found capable of such vile adulation. Their servility showed how little they deserved the liberty that was restored them.

† Every fifth year the Athenians celebrated the *Panathenæa*, or festival of Minerva, and carried in procession the *Peplum*, or holy veil, in which the defeat of the Titans, and the actions of Minerva, were inwrought. In this veil, too, they placed the figures of those commanders who had distinguished themselves by their victories; and from thence came the expression, that such a one was worthy of the *Peplum*; meaning, that he was a brave soldier. As to the form of the *Peplum*, it was a large robe without sleeves. It was drawn by land in a machine like a ship along the *Ceramicus*, as far as the temple of *Ceres* at *Eleusius*; from whence it was brought back and consecrated in the citadel.

tribes, and called them *Demetrius* and *Antigonis*; in consequence of which the senate, which before consisted of five hundred members, was to consist of six hundred; for each tribe supplied fifty.

Stratocles, of whose inventions these wise compliments were, thought of a stroke still higher. He procured a decree, that those who should be sent upon public business from the commonwealth of Athens to Antigonus and Demetrius, should not be called ambassadors, but *Theori*, a title which had been appropriated to those who, on the solemn festivals, carried the customary sacrifices to Delphi and Olympia, in the name of the Grecian states. This Stratocles was, in all respects, a person of the most daring effrontery and the most debauched life, inso-much that he seemed to imitate the ancient Cleon in his scurrilous and licentious behaviour to the people. He kept a mistress called Phylacium; and one day, when she brought from the market some heads for supper, he said, "Why how now! you have provided us just such things to eat, as we statesmen use for tennis-balls."

When the Athenians were defeated in the seafight near Amorgas, he arrived at Athens before any account of the misfortune had been received, and passing through the Ceramicus with a chaplet on his head, told the people that they were victorious. He then moved that sacrifices of thanksgiving should be offered, and meat distributed among the tribes for a public entertainment. Two days after, the poor remains of the fleet were brought home; and the people, in great anger, calling him to answer for the imposition, he made his appearance in the height of the tumult, with the most consummate assurance, and said, "What harm have I done you, in making you merry for two days?" Such was the impudence of Stratocles.

But there were other extravagances *hotter than fire itself*, as Aristophanes expresses it. One flatterer outdid even Stratocles in servility, by procuring a decree that Demetrius, whenever he visited Athens, should be received with the same honours that were paid to Ceres and Bacchus; and that whoever exceeded the rest in the splendour and magnificence of the reception he gave that prince, should have money out of the treasury to enable him to set up some pious memorial of his success. These instances of adulation concluded with their changing the name of the month *Munychion* to *Demetrian*, with calling the last day of every month *Demetrian*; and the *Dionysia*, or feasts of Bacchus, *Demetria*.

The gods soon showed how much they were offended at these things. For the veil in which were wrought the figures of Demetrius and Antigonus, along with those of Jupiter and Minerva, as they carried it through the *Ceramicus*, was rent asunder by a sudden storm of wind. Hemlock grew up in great quantities round the altars of those princes, though it is a plant seldom found in that country. On the day when the *Dionysia* were to be celebrated, they were forced to put a stop to the procession by the excessive cold, which came entirely out of season; and there fell so strong a hoar frost, that it blasted not only the vines and fig-trees, but great part of the corn in the blade. Hence, Philippides, who was an enemy to Stratocles, thus attacked him in one of his comedies.—“Who was the wicked cause of our vines being blasted by the frost, and of the sacred veil’s being rent asunder? He who transferred the honours of the gods to men: it is he, not comedy*, that is the ruin of the people.” Philip-

* It is probable that Stratocles, and the other persons of his character, inveighed against the dramatic writers, on ac-

pides enjoyed the friendship of Lysimachus, and the Athenians received many favours from that prince on his account. ~~Now~~, whenever Lysimachus was waited on by this poet, or happened to meet him, he considered it as a good omen, and a happy time to enter upon any great business or important expedition. Besides, he was a man of excellent character, never importunate, intriguing, or over officious, like those who are bred in a court. One day Lysimachus called to him in the most obliging manner, and said, "What is there of mine that you would share in?" "Any thing," said he, "but your secrets." I have purposely contrasted these characters, that the difference may be obvious between the comic writer and the demagogue.

What exceeded all the rage of flattery we have mentioned was the decree proposed by Dromoclides the Sphettian; according to which they were to consult the oracle of Demetrius, as to the manner in which they were to dedicate certain shields at Delphi. It was conceived in these terms: "In a fortunate hour, be it decreed by the people, that a citizen of Athens be appointed to go to the god protector, and, after due sacrifices offered, demand of Demetrius, the god protector, what will be the most pious, the most honourable and expeditious method of consecrating the intended offerings. And it is hereby enacted, that the people of Athens will follow the method dictated by his oracle." By this mockery of incense to his vanity, who was scarcely in his senses before, they rendered him perfectly insane.

During his stay at Athens, he married Eurydice, a descendant of the ancient Miltiades, who was the

count of the liberties they took with their vices. Though this was after the time that the *middle comedy* prevailed at Athens.

widow of Opheltas king of Cyrene, and had returned to Athens after his death. The Athenians reckoned this a particular favour and honour to their city; though Demetrius made no sort of difficulty of marrying, and had many wives at the same time. Of all his wives, he paid most respect to Phila, because she was the daughter of Antipater, and had been married to Craterus, who, of all the successors of Alexander, was most regretted by the Macedonians. Demetrius was very young when his father persuaded him to marry her, though she was advanced in life, and on that account unfit for him. As he was disinclined to the match, Antigonus is said to have repeated to him that verse of Euripides, with a happy parody :

When Fortune spreads her stores, we yield to marriage
Against the bent of nature.

Only putting *marriage* instead of *bondage*. However, the respect which Demetrius paid Phila and his other wives was not of such a nature but that he publicly entertained many mistresses, as well slaves as freeborn women, and was more infamous for his excesses of that sort, than any other prince of his time.

Meantime his father called him to take the conduct of the war against Ptolemy; and he found it necessary to obey him. But as it gave him pain to leave the war he had undertaken for the liberties of Greece, which was so much more advantageous in point of glory, he sent to Cleonides, who commanded for Pompey in Sicyon and Corinth, and offered him a pecuniary consideration, on condition that he would set those cities free. Cleonides, not accepting the proposal, Demetrius immediately embarked his troops, and sailed to Cyprus. There he had an engagement with Menelaus, brother to Ptolemy, and

defeated him. Ptolemy himself soon after made his appearance with a great number of land forces, and a considerable fleet. On which occasion, several menacing and haughty messages passed between them. Ptolemy bade Demetrius depart, before he collected all his forces and trod him under foot; and Demetrius said, he would let Ptolemy go, if he would promise to evacuate Sicyon and Corinth.

The approaching battle awakened the attention not only of the parties concerned, but of all other princes; for, beside the uncertainty of the event, so much depended upon it that the conqueror would not be master of Cyprus and Syria alone, but superior to all his rivals in power. Ptolemy advanced with a hundred and fifty ships, and he had ordered Menelaus, with sixty more, to come out of the harbour of Salamis, in the heat of the battle, and put the enemy in disorder, by falling on his rear. Against these sixty ships, Demetrius appointed a guard of ten, for that number was sufficient to block up the mouth of the harbour. His land forces he ranged on the adjoining promontories, and then bore down upon his adversary with a hundred and eighty ships. This he did with so much impetuosity that Ptolemy could not stand the shock, but was defeated, and fled with eight ships only, which were all that he saved. For seventy were taken, with their crews, and the rest were sunk in the engagement. His numerous train, his servants, friends, wives, arms, money, and machines, that were stationed near the fleet in transports, all fell into the hands of Demetrius, and he carried them to his camp.

Among these was the celebrated Lamia, who at first was only taken notice of for her performing on the flute, which was by no means contemptible, but afterwards became famous as a courtesan. By this

time her beauty was in the wane, yet she captivated Demetrius, though not near her age, and so effectually enslaved him by the peculiar power of her address, that, though other women had a passion for him, he could only think of her.

After the seafight, Menelaus made no further resistance, but surrendered Salamis with all the ships, and the land forces, which consisted of twelve hundred horse, and twelve thousand foot.

This victory, so great in itself, Demetrius rendered still more glorious by generosity and humanity, in giving the enemy's dead an honourable interment, and setting the prisoners free. He selected twelve hundred complete suits of armour from the spoils, and bestowed them on the Athenians. Aristodemus, the Milesian, was the person he sent to his father with an account of the victory. Of all the courtiers, this man was the boldest flatterer; and, on the present occasion, he designed to outdo himself. When he arrived on the coast of Syria from Cyprus, he would not suffer the ship to make land; but ordering it to anchor at a distance, and all the company to remain in it, he took the boat, and went on shore alone. He advanced towards the palace of Antigonius, who was watching for the event of this battle with all the solicitude that is natural to a man who has so great a concern at stake. As soon as he was informed that the messenger was coming, his anxiety increased to such a degree that he could scarce keep within his palace. He sent his officers and friends, one after another, to Aristodemus, to demand what intelligence he brought. But, instead of giving any of them an answer, he walked on with great silence and solemnity. The king by this time much alarmed, and having no longer patience, went to the door to meet him. A great crowd was ga-

thered about Aristodemus, and people were running from all quarters to the palace to hear the news. When he was near enough to be heard, he stretched out his hand, and cried aloud, "Hail to king Antigonus! we have totally beaten Ptolemy at sea; we are masters of Cyprus, and have made sixteen thousand eight hundred prisoners." Antigonus answered, "Hail to you too, my good friend! but I will punish you for torturing us so long; you shall wait long for your reward."

The people now, for the first time, proclaimed Antigonus and Demetrius kings. Antigonus had the diadem immediately put on by his friends. He sent one to Demetrius; and in the letter that accompanied it, addressed him under the style of king. The Egyptians, when they were apprized of this circumstance, gave Ptolemy likewise the title of king, that they might not appear to be dispirited with their late defeat. The other successors of Alexander caught eagerly at the opportunity to aggrandize themselves. Lysimachus took the diadem; and Seleucus did the same in his transactions with the Greeks. The latter had worn it some time, when he gave audience to the barbarians. Cassander alone, while others wrote to him, and saluted him as king, prefixed his name to the letters in the same manner as formerly.

This title proved not a mere addition to their name and figure. It gave them higher notions. It introduced a pompousness into their manners, and self-importance into their discourse. Just as tragedians, when they take the habit of kings, change their gait, their voice, their whole deportment, and manner of address. After this they became more severe in their judicial capacity; for they laid aside that dissimulation with which they had concealed

their power, and which had made them much milder and more favourable to their subjects. So much could one word of a flatterer do ! such a change did it effect in the whole face of the world !

Antigonus, elated with his son's achievements at Cyprus, immediately marched against Ptolemy ; commanding his land forces in person, while Demetrius, with a powerful fleet, attended him along the coast. One of Antigonus's friends, named Medius, had the event of this expedition communicated to him in a dream. He thought that Antigonus and his whole army were running a race. At first he seemed to run with great swiftness and force ; but afterwards his strength gradually abated ; and, on turning, he became very weak, and drew his breath with such pain, that he could scarce recover himself. Accordingly, Antigonus met with many difficulties at land, and Demetrius encountered such a storm at sea, that he was in danger of being driven upon an impracticable shore. In this storm he lost many of his ships, and returned without effecting any thing.

Antigonus was now little short of eighty ; and his great size and weight disqualified him for war, still more than his age. He therefore left the military department to his son, who by his good fortune, as well as ability, managed it in the happiest manner. Nor was Antigonus hurt by his son's debaucheries, his expensive appearance, or his long carousals ; for these were the things in which Demetrius employed himself in time of peace with the utmost licentiousness and most unbounded avidity. But in war, no man, however naturally temperate, exceeded him in sobriety.

When the power that Lamia had over him was evident to all the world, Demetrius came after some expedition or other to salute his father, and kissed

him so cordially that he laughed and said, "Surely, my son, you think you are kissing Lamia?" Once when he had been spending many days with his friends over the bottle, he excused himself at his return to court by saying, "That he had been hindered by a defluxion." "So, I heard," said Antigonus, "but whether was the defluxion from Thasos or from Chios?" Another time, being informed that he was indisposed, he went to see him; and when he came to the door, he met one of his favourites going out. He went in, however, and sitting down by him, took hold of his hand. Demetrius said his fever had now left him. "I know it," said Antigonus, "for I met it this moment at the door." With such mildness he treated his son's faults, out of regard to his excellent performances. It is the custom of the Scythians in the midst of their carousals to strike the strings of their bows, to recal, as it were, their courage which is melting away in pleasure. But Demetrius one while gave himself up entirely to pleasure, and another while to business; he did not intermix them. His military talents, therefore, did not suffer by his attentions of a gayer kind.

Nay, he seemed to show greater abilities in his preparations for war than in the use of them. He was not content unless he had stores that were more than sufficient. There was something peculiarly great in the construction of his ships and engines, and he took an unwearied pleasure in the inventing of new ones. For he was ingenious in the speculative part of mechanics; and he did not, like other princes, apply his taste and knowledge of those arts to the purposes of diversion, or to pursuits of no utility, such as playing on the flute, painting, or turning.

Eropus, king of Macedon, spent his hours of
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leisure in making little tables and lamps. Attalus*, surnamed Philometer†, amused himself with planting poisonous herbs, not only henbane and hellebore, but hemlock, aconite, and dorycnium‡. These he cultivated in the royal gardens, and beside gathering them at their proper seasons, made it his business to know the qualities of their juices and fruit. And the kings of Parthia took a pride in forging and sharpening heads for arrows. But the mechanics of Demetrius were of a princely kind; there was always something great in the fabric. Together with a spirit of curiosity and love of the arts, there appeared in all his works a grandeur of design and dignity of invention, so that they were not only worthy of the genius and wealth but of the hand of a king. His friends were astonished at their greatness, and his very enemies were pleased with their beauty. Nor is this description of him at all exaggerated. His enemies used to stand upon the shore, looking with admiration upon his galleys of fifteen or sixteen banks of oars, as they sailed along; and his engines called helepoles, were a pleasing spectacle to the very towns which he besieged. This is evident from facts. Lysimachus, who of all the princes of his time was the bitterest enemy to Demetrius, when he came to compel him to raise the siege of Soli in Cilicia, desired he would show him his engines of war, and his manner of navigating the galleys; and he was so struck with the sight

* Plutarch does not do that honour to Attalus which he deserves, when he mentions his employments as unworthy of a prince. He made many experiments in natural philosophy, and wrote a treatise on agriculture. Other kings, particularly Hiero and Archelans, did the same.

† This is a mistake in Plutarch. Philometer was another prince, who made agriculture his amusement.

‡ *Dorycnium* was a common poisonous plant, which was so called from the points of spears being tinged with its juices.

that he immediately retired. And the Rhodians, after they had stood a long siege; and at last compromised the affair, requested him to leave some of his engines, as monuments both of his power and of their valour.

His war with the Rhodians was occasioned by their alliance with Ptolemy; and in the course of it he brought the largest of his helepoles up to their walls. Its base was square; each of its sides at the bottom forty-eight cubits wide; and it was sixty-six cubits high. The sides of the several divisions gradually lessened, so that the top was much narrower than the bottom. The inside was divided into several stories or rooms, one above another. The front which was turned towards the enemy had a window in each story, through which missive weapons of various kinds were thrown: for it was filled with men who practised every method of fighting. It neither shook nor veered the least in its motion, but rolled on in a steady upright position. And as it moved with a horrible noise, it at once pleased and terrified the spectators*.

He had two coats of mail brought from Cyprus†, for his use in this war, each of which weighed forty *minæ*. Zoilus the maker, to show the excellence of their temper, ordered a dart to be shot at one of them from an engine at the distance of twenty-six paces; and it stood so firm that there was no more spark upon it than what might be made with such a style as is used in writing. This he took for him-

* Diodorus Siculus says, this machine had nine stories; and that it rolled on four large wheels, each of which was sixteen feet high.

† Pliny says, that the Cyprian Adamant was impregnable. Cyprus was famous for the metal of which armour was made even in the time of the Trojan war; and Agamemnon had a cuirass sent him from Cyprius King of Cyprus. *Hæc.* II. 24.

self, and gave the other to Alcimus the Epirot, a man of the greatest bravery and strength of any in his army. The Epirot's whole suit of armour weighed two talents, whereas that of others weighed no more than one. He fell in the siege of Rhodes, in an action near the theatre.

As the Rhodians defended themselves with great spirit, Demetrius was not able to do any thing considerable. There was one thing in their conduct which he particularly resented, and for that reason he persisted in the siege. They had taken the vessel in which were letters from his wife Phila, together with some robes and pieces of tapestry, and they sent it, as it was, to Ptolemy. In which they were far from imitating the politeness of the Athenians, who, when they were at war with Philip, happening to take his couriers, read all the other letters, but sent him that of Olympias with the seal entire.

But Demetrius, though much incensed, did not retaliate upon the Rhodians, though he soon had an opportunity. Protogenes of Caunus was at that time painting for them the history of Jalyus*, and had almost finished it when Demetrius seized it in one of the suburbs. The Rhodians sent a herald to entreat him to spare the work, and not suffer it to be destroyed. Upon which he said, "He would rather burn the pictures of his father than hurt so

* We have not met with the particular subject of this famous painting. Jalyus was one of the fabulous heroea, the son of Ochimus and grandson of Apollo; and there is a town in Rhodes called Jalyus, which probably had its name from him. It was in this picture that Protogenes, when he had long laboured in vain to paint the foam of a dog, happily hit it off, by throwing the brush in anger at the dog's mouth. *Ælian*, as well as *Plutarch*, says, that he was seven years in finishing it. *Pliny* tells us, that he gave it four coats of colours, that when one was effaced by time, another might supply its place. He tells us too, that while Protogenes was at

laborious a piece of art." For Protopogenes is said to have been seven years in finishing it. Apelles tells us, that when he first saw it, he was so much astonished that he could not speak; and at last, when he recovered himself, he said, "A master-piece of labour! A wonderful performance! But it wants those graces which raise the fame of my paintings to the skies." This piece was afterwards carried to Rome, and, being added to the number of those collected there, was destroyed by fire. The Rhodians now began to grow weary of the war. Demetrius too wanted only a pretence to put an end to 'it, and he found one. The Athenians came and reconciled them on this condition, that the Rhodians should assist Antigonus and Demetrius as allies, in all their wars except those with Ptolemy.

At the same time the Athenians called him to their succour against Cassander, who was besieging their city. In consequence of which he sailed thither with a fleet of three hundred and thirty ships, and a numerous body of land forces. With these he not only drove Cassander out of Attica, but followed him to Thermopylæ, and entirely defeated him there. Heraclea then voluntarily submitted, and he received into his army six thousand Macedonians who came over to him. In his return he restored liberty to the Greeks within the straits of Thermopylæ, took the Boeotians into his alliance,

work, he was visited by Demetrius, and when the latter asked him how he could prosecute his work with so much calmness under the rage of war, he answered, that "Though Demetrius was at war with Rhodes, he did not suppose he was at war with the arts." He is said to have lived on lupines during the time he was employed on this painting, that his judgment might not be clouded by luxurious diet. The picture was brought to Rome by Cassius, and placed in the Temple of Peace, where it remained till the time of Commodus; when, together with the temple, it was consumed by fire.

and made himself master of Cenchreæ. He likewise reduced Phyle and Panactus, the bulwarks of Attica, which had been garrisoned by Cassander, and put them in the hands of the Athenians again. The Athenians, though they had lavished honours upon him before in the most extravagant manner, yet contrived on this occasion to appear new in their flattery. They gave orders that he should lodge in the back part of the Parthenon ; which accordingly he did, and Minerva was said to have received him as her guest ; a guest not very fit to come under her roof, or suitable to her virgin purity.

In one of their expeditions his brother Philip took up his quarters in a house where there were three young women. His father Antigonus said nothing to Philip, but called the quarter-master, and said to him in his presence, " Why do not you remove my son out of this lodging, where he is so much straitened for room ? " And Demetrius, who ought to have revered Minerva, if on no other account, yet as his eldest sister (for so he affected to call her), behaved in such a manner to persons of both sexes who were above the condition of slaves, and the citadel was so polluted with his debaucheries, that it appeared to be kept sacred in some degree, when he indulged himself only with such prostitutes as Chrysis, Lamia, Demo, and Anticyra.

Some things we choose to pass over out of regard to the character of the city of Athens ; but the virtue and chastity of Democles ought not to be left under the veil of silence. Democles was very young ; and his beauty was no secret to Demetrius. Indeed, his surname unhappily declared it, for he was called Democles *the Handsome*. Demetrius, through his emissaries, left nothing unattempted to gain him by great offers, or to intimidate him by threats ; but neither could prevail. He left the wrestling ring

and all public exercises, and made use only of a private bath. Demetrius watched his opportunity, and surprised him there alone. The boy seeing nobody near to assist him, and the impossibility of resisting with any effect, took off the cover of the caldron, and jumped into the boiling water. It is true, he came to an unworthy end, but his sentiments were worthy of his country and of his personal merit.

Very different were those of Cleænetus the son of Cleomedon. That youth having procured his father the remission of a fine of fifty talents, brought letters from Demetrius to the people, signifying his pleasure in that respect. By which he not only dishonoured himself, but brought great trouble upon the city. The people took off the fine, but at the same time they made a decree, that no citizen should for the future bring any letter from Demetrius. Yet when they found that Demetrius was disobliged at it, and expressed his resentment in strong terms, they not only repealed the act, but punished the persons who proposed and supported it, some with death, and some with banishment. They likewise passed a new edict, importing, "That the people of Athens had resolved, that whatsoever thing Demetrius might command, should be accounted holy in respect of the gods, and just in respect of men." ~~Some~~ person of better principle on this occasion happening to say, that Stratocles was mad in proposing such decrees, Demochares the Leuconian answered *, "He would be mad, if he were not mad." Stratocles found his advantage in his servility; and for this saying Demochares was prosecuted and banished the city. To such meannesses were the Athenians brought, when the garrison

* The nephew of Demosthenes.

seemed to be removed out of their city, and they pretended to be a free people!

Demetrius afterwards passed into Peloponnesus, where he found no resistance, for all his enemies fled before him, or surrendered their cities. He therefore reduced with ease that part of the country called *Acte*, and all *Arcadia*, except *Mantineia*. *Argos*, *Sicyon*, and *Corinth*, he set free from their garrisons, by giving the commanding officers a hundred talents to evacuate them. About that time the feasts of *Juno* came on at *Argos*, and Demetrius presided in the games and other exhibitions. During these solemnities he married *Deidamia* the daughter of *Æcides* king of the *Molossians*, and sister of *Pyrhus*. He told the *Sicyonians* that they lived out of their city, and showing them a more advantageous situation, persuaded them to build one where the town now stands. Along with the situation he likewise changed the name, calling the town *Demetrias*, instead of *Sicyon*.

The states being assembled at the *Isthmus*, and a prodigious number of people attending, he was proclaimed general of all Greece, as *Philip* and *Alexander* had been before; and in the elation of power and success, he thought himself a much greater man. *Alexander* robbed no other prince of his title, nor did he ever declare himself king of kings, though he raised many both to the style and authority of kings. But Demetrius thought no man worthy of that title, except his father and himself. He even ridiculed those who made use of it, and it was with pleasure he heard the sycophants at his table drinking king *Demetrius*, *Seleucus* commander of the elephants, *Ptolemy* admiral, *Lysimachus* treasurer, and *Agathocles* the *Sicilian* governor of the islands. The rest of them only laughed at such extravagant instances of vanity. *Lysimachus* alone was angry, because *Demetrius*

seemed to think him no better than an eunuch. For the princes of the east had generally eunuchs for their treasurers. Lysimachus, indeed, was the most violent enemy that he had; and now taking an opportunity to disparage him on account of his passion for Lamia, he said, "This was the first time he had seen a whore act in a tragedy*." Demetrius said in answer, "My whore is an honest woman than his Penelope."

When he was preparing to return to Athens, he wrote to the republic, that on his arrival he intended to be initiated, and to be immediately admitted not only to the less mysteries, but even to those called intuitive. This was unlawful and unprecedented; for the less mysteries were celebrated in February†, and the greater in September‡; and none were admitted to the intuitive till a year at least after they had attended the greater mysteries§. When the letters were read, Pythodorus the torchbearer, was the only person who ventured to oppose the demand; and his opposition was entirely ineffectual. Stratoles procured a decree that the month of *Munychion* should be called and reputed the month of *Anthesterion*, to give Demetrius an opportunity for his first initiation, which was to be performed in the ward of Agra. After which, Munychion was changed again into Boëdromion. By these means Demetrius

* The modern stage needs not be put to the blush by this assertion in favour of the ancient; the reason of it was, that there were no women actors. Men in female dresses performed their parts.

† *Anthesterion*.

‡ *Boëdromion*.

§ Plutarch in this place seems to make a difference between the intuitive and the greater mysteries, though they are commonly understood to be the same. Casaubon and Meursius think the text corrupt; but the manner in which they would restore it, does not render it less perplexed.

was admitted to the greater mysteries and to immediate inspection. Hence those strokes of satire upon Stratocles from the poet Philippides—"The man who can contract the whole year into one month:" and with respect to Demetrius's being lodged in the *Parthenon*—"The man who turns the temples into inns, and brings prostitutes into the company of the virgin goddess."

But amongst the many abuses and enormities committed in their city, no one seems to have given the Athenians greater uneasiness than this. He ordered them to raise two hundred and fifty talents in a very short time, and the sum was exacted with the greatest rigour. When the money was brought in, and he saw it all together, he ordered it to be given to Lamia and his other mistresses to buy soap. Thus the disgrace hurt them more than the loss, and the application more than the impost. Some, however, say, that it was not to the Athenians he behaved in this manner, but to the people of Thessaly. Besides this disagreeable tax, Lamia extorted money from many persons on her own authority, to enable her to provide an entertainment for the king. And the expense of that supper was so remarkable that Lynceus the Samian took pains to give a description of it. For the same reason, a comic poet of those times, with equal wit and truth, called Lamia an *Helepolis*. And Demochares the Solian, called Demetrius *Muthos*, that is, *fable*, because he too had his *Lamia* *

* Fabulous history mentions a queen of Libya, who, out of rage for the loss of her own children, ordered those of other women to be brought to her and devoured them. From whence she was called *Lamia* from the Phœnician word *lahama*, to devour. Upon this account, *Diodorus* tells us, that *Lamia* became a bugbear to children. And this satisfies M. Dacier with regard to the explanation of this passage in Plutarch.

The great interest that Lamia had with Demetrius in consequence of his passion for her excited a spirit of envy and aversion to her, not only in the breasts of his wives, but of his friends. Demetrius having sent ambassadors to Lysimachus on some occasion, or other, that prince amused himself one day with showing them the deep wounds he had received from a lion's claws in his arms and thighs, and gave them an account of his being shut up with that wild beast by Alexander the Great, and of the battle he had with it*. Upon which they laughed, and said, "The king our master, too, bears on his neck the marks of a dreadful wild beast called a Lamia." Indeed, it was strange that he should at first have so great an objection against the disparity of years between him and Phila, and afterwards fall into such a lasting captivity to Lamia, though she had passed her prime at their first acquaintance. One evening when Lamia had been playing on the flute at supper, Demetrius asked Demo, surnamed *Mania*†, what she thought of her. "I think her an old woman, Sir," said Demo. Another time, when there was an extraordinary dessert on the table, he said to her, "You see what fine things Lamia sends me:" "My mother will send you finer," answered Demo, "if you will but lie with her."

We shall mention only one story more of Lamia, which relates to her censure of the celebrated judgment of Botchoris. In Egypt there was a young man extremely desirous of the favours of a courtesan named Thonis, but she set too high a price upon them. Afterwards he fancied that he enjoyed her in a dream, and his desire was satisfied. Thonis, upon this, commenced an action against him for the money;

* Justin and Pausanias mention this; but Q. Curtius doubts the truth of it; and he probably is in the right.

† In English, Miss Madcap.

and Bocchoris having heard both parties, ordered the man to tell the gold that she demanded into a bason, and shake it about before her, that she might enjoy the sight of it. "For fancy," said he, "is no more than the shadow of truth." Lamia did not think this a just sentence; because the woman's desire of the gold was not removed by the appearance of it; whereas the dream cured the passion of her lover.

The change in the fortunes and actions of the subject of our narrative now turns the comic scene into tragedy: all the other kings having united their forces against Antigonus, Demetrius left Greece in order to join him; and was greatly animated to find his father preparing for war with a spirit above his years. Had Antigonus abated a little of his pretensions, and restrained his ambition to govern the world, he might have kept the preeminence among the successors of Alexander, not only for himself, but for his son after him. But being naturally arrogant, imperious, and no less insolent in his expressions than in his actions; he exasperated many young and powerful princes against him. He boasted, that "he could break the present league, and disperse the united armies with as much ease as a boy does a flock of birds, by throwing a stone, or making a slight noise."

He had an army of more than seventy thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and seventy-five elephants. The enemy's infantry consisted of sixty-four thousand men, their cavalry of ten thousand five hundred; they had four hundred elephants, and a hundred and twenty armed chariots. When the two armies were in sight, there was a visible change in the mind of Antigonus, but rather with respect to his hopes than his resolution. In other engagements his spirits used to be high, his port lofty, his voice loud, and his expressions vaunting; insomuch that he would sometimes in the heat of the action let fall some jocular expres-

sion, to show his unconcern and his contempt of his adversary. But at this time he was observed for the most part to be thoughtful and silent; and one day he presented his son to the army, and recommended him as his successor. What appeared still more extraordinary, was, that he took him aside into his tent, and discoursed with him there: for he never communicated his intentions to him in private, or consulted him in the least, but to rely entirely on his own judgment, and to give orders for the execution of what he had resolved on by himself. It is reported that Demetrius, when very young, once asked him when they should decamp, and that he answered angrily, "Are you afraid that you only shall not hear the trumpet."

On this occasion, it is true, their spirits were depressed by ill omens. Demetrius dreamed that Alexander came to him in a magnificent suit of armour, and asked him what was to be the word in the ensuing battle. Demetrius answered, *Jupiter and victory*: upon which Alexander said, "I go then to your adversaries, for they are ready to receive me." When the army was put in order of battle, Antigonus stumbled as he went out of his tent, and falling on his face, received a considerable hurt. After he had recovered himself, he stretched out his hands towards heaven, and prayed either for victory, or that he might die before he was sensible that the day was lost.

When the battle was begun, Demetrius, at the head of his best cavalry, fell upon Antiochus the son of Seleucus, and fought with so much bravery that he put the enemy to flight: but by a vain and unseasonable ambition to go upon the pursuit, he lost the victory. For he went so far that he could not get back to join his infantry, the enemy's elephants having taken up the intermediate space. Seleucus, now see-

ing his adversary's foot deprived of their horse, did not attack them, but rode about them as if he was going every moment to charge; intending by this manœuvre both to terrify them, and to give them opportunity to change sides. The event answered his expectation. Great part separated from the main body, and voluntarily came over to him; the rest were sent to the rout. When great numbers were bearing down upon Antigonus, one of those that were about him, said, "They are coming against you, sir." He answered, "What other object can they have? But Demetrius will come to my assistance." In this hope he continued to the last, still looking about for his son, till he fell under a shower of darts. His servants and his very friends forsook him; only Thorax of Larissa remained by the dead body.

The battle being thus decided, the kings who were victorious, dismembered the kingdom of Antigonus and Demetrius, like some great body, and each took a limb; thus adding to their own dominions the provinces which these two princes were possessed of before. Demetrius fled with five thousand foot and four thousand horse. And as he reached Ephesus in a short time, and was in want of money, it was expected that he would not spare the temple. However, he not only spared it himself*, but fearing that his soldiers might be tempted to violate it, he immediately left the place, and embarked for Greece. His principal dependence was upon the Athenians; for with them he had left his ships, his money, and his wife Deidamia; and in this distress he thought he could have no safer asylum than their affection. He therefore pursued his voyage with all possible expedition; but ambassadors from Athens met him near the Cyclades; and entreated him not to think of going

* A striking proof that adversity is the parent of virtue!

thither, because the people had declared by an edict that they would receive no king into their city. As for Deidamia, they had conducted her to Megara with a proper retinue, and all the respect due to her rank. This so enraged Demetrius, that he was no longer master of himself; though he had hitherto borne his misfortune with sufficient calmness, and discovered no mean or ungenerous sentiment in the great change of his affairs. But to be deceived, beyond all his expectation, by the Athenians; to find by facts that their affection, so great in appearance, was only false and counterfeit, was a thing that cut him to the heart. Indeed, excessive honours are a very indifferent proof of the regard of the people for kings and princes. For all the value of those honours rests in their being freely given; and there can be no certainty of that, because the givers may be under the influence of fear. And fear and love often produce the same public declarations. For the same reason wise princes will not look upon statues, pictures, or divine honours, but rather consider their own actions and behaviour, and, in consequence thereof, either believe those honours real, or disregard them as the dictates of necessity. Nothing more frequently happens than that the people hate their sovereign the most, at the time that he is receiving the most immoderate honours, the tribute of unwilling minds.

Demetrius, though he severely felt this ill treatment, was not in a condition to revenge it; he therefore, by his envoys, expostulated with the Athenians in moderate terms, and only desired them to send him his galleys, among which there was one of thirteen banks of oars. As soon as he had received them, he steered for the Isthmus, but found his affairs there in a very bad situation. The cities expelled his garrisons, and were all revolting to his enemies. Leaving Pyrrhus in Greece, he then sailed to the Chersonesus,

and by the ravages he committed in the country, distressed Lysimachus, as well as enriched and secured the fidelity of his own forces, which now began to gather strength, and improve into a respectable army. The other kings paid no regard to Lysimachus, who, at the same time that he was much more formidable in his power than Demetrius, was not in the least more moderate in his conduct.

Soon after this, Seleucus sent proposals of marriage to Stratonice, the daughter of Demetrius by Phila. He had, indeed, already a son named Antiochus, by Apama, a Persian lady; but he thought that his dominions were sufficient for more heirs, and that he stood in need of this new alliance, because he saw Lysimachus marrying one of Ptolemy's daughters himself, and taking the other for his son Agathocles. A connection with Seleucus was a happy and unexpected turn of fortune for Demetrius.

He took his daughter, and sailed with his whole fleet to Syria. In the course of the voyage he was several times under a necessity of making land, and he touched in particular upon the coast of Cilicia, which had been given to Plistarchus, the brother of Cassander, as his share, after the defeat of Antigonus. Plistarchus thinking himself injured by the descent which Demetrius made upon his country, went immediately to Cassander, to complain of Seleucus for having reconciled himself to the common enemy without the concurrence of the other kings. Demetrius being informed of his departure, left the sea, and marched up to Quinda; where, finding twelve hundred talents, the remains of his father's treasures, he carried them off, embarked again without interruption, and set sail with the utmost expedition, his wife Phila having joined him by the way.

Seleucus met him at Orossus. Their interview was conducted in a sincere and princely manner,

without any marks of design or suspicion. Seleucus invited Demetrius first to his pavilion; and then Demetrius entertained him in his galley of thirteen banks of oars. They conversed at their ease, and passed the time together without guards or arms; till Seleucus took Stratonice, and carried her with great pomp to Antioch.

Demetrius seized the province of Cilicia, and sent Phila to her brother Cassander, to answer the accusations brought against him by Plistarchus. Meantime, Deidamia came to him from Greece, but she had not spent any long time with him before she sickened and died; and Demetrius having accommodated matters with Ptolemy through Seleucus, it was agreed that he should marry Ptolemais, the daughter of that prince.

Hitherto Seleucus had behaved with honour and propriety: but afterwards he demanded that Demetrius should surrender Cilicia to him for a sum of money, and on his refusal to do that, angrily insisted on having Tyre and Sidon. This behaviour appeared unjustifiable and cruel. When he already commanded Asia from the Indies to the Syrian sea, how sordid was it to quarrel for two cities with a prince who was his father-in-law, and who laboured under so painful a reverse of fortune. A strong proof how true the maxim of Plato is, *That the man who would be truly happy should not study to enlarge his estate, but to contract his desires.* For he who does not restrain his avarice must for ever be poor.

However, Demetrius, far from being intimidated, said, "Though I had lost a thousand battles as great as that of Ipsus, nothing should bring me to buy the alliance of Seleucus;" and, upon this principle, he garrisoned these cities in the strongest manner. About this time having intelligence that Athens was divided into factions, and that Lachares, taking ad-

vantage of these, had seized the government, he expected to take the city with ease, if he appeared suddenly before it. Accordingly he set out with a considerable fleet, and crossed the sea without danger; but, on the coast of Attica he met with a storm, in which he lost many ships and great numbers of his men. He escaped, however, himself, and began hostilities against Athens, though with no great vigour. As his operations answered no end, he sent his lieutenants to collect another fleet, and in the mean time entered Peloponnesus, and laid siege to Messene. In one of the assaults he was in great danger; for a dart which came from an engine, pierced through his jaw, and entered his mouth. But he recovered, and reduced some cities that had revolted. After this, he invaded Attica again, took Eleusis and Rhamnus, and ravaged the country. Happening to take a ship loaded with wheat, which was bound for Athens, he hanged both the merchant and the pilot. This alarmed other merchants so much that they forbore attempting any thing of that kind, so that a famine ensued; and, together with the want of bread corn, the people were in want of every thing else. A bushel of salt was sold for forty *drachmas**, and a peck† of wheat for three hundred. A fleet of a hundred and fifty ships, which Ptolemy sent to their relief, appeared before Ægina; but the encouragement it afforded them was of short continuance. A great reinforcement of ships came to Demetrius from Peloponnesus and Cyprus, so that he had not in all fewer than three hundred. Ptolemy's fleet, therefore, weighed anchor and steered off. The tyrant Lachares at the same time made his escape privately, and abandoned the city.

* *Medimnus*.

† *Modius*. These measures were something more, but we give only the round quantity. See the Table.

The Athenians, though they had made a decree that no man, under pain of death, should mention peace or reconciliation with Demetrius, now opened the gates nearest him, and sent ambassadors to his camp. Not that they expected any favour from him, but they were forced to take that step by the extremity of famine. In the course of it many dreadful things happened, and this is related among the rest. A father and his son were sitting in the same room in the last despair; when a dead mouse happening to fall from the roof of the house, they both started up and fought for it. Epicurus the philosopher is said at that time to have supported his friends and disciples with beans, which he shared with them, and counted out to them daily.

In such a miserable condition was the city, when Demetrius entered it. He ordered all the Athenians to assemble in the theatre, which he surrounded with his troops; and having planted his guards on each side the stage, he came down through the passage by which the tragedians enter. The fears of the people on his appearance increased, but they were entirely dissipated when he began to speak; for neither the accent of his voice was loud, nor his expressions severe. He complained of them in soft and easy terms, and taking them again into favour, made them a present of a hundred thousand measures of wheat*, and reestablished such an administration as was most agreeable to them.

The orator Dromoclides observed the variety of acclamations amongst the people, and that in the joy of their hearts they endeavoured to outdo the encomiums of those that spoke from the rostrum. He therefore proposed a decree that the Piræus and the fort of Munychia should be delivered up to king

* *Medimni.*

Demetrius. After this bill was passed, Demetrius, on his own authority, put a garrison in the museum; lest, if there should be another defection amongst the people, it might keep them from other enterprises.

The Athenians thus reduced, Demetrius immediately formed a design upon Lacedæmon. King Archidamus met him at Mantinea, where Demetrius defeated him in a pitched battle; and, after he had put him to flight, he entered Laconia. There was another action almost in sight of Sparta, in which he killed two hundred of the enemy, and made five hundred prisoners: so that he seemed almost master of a town which hitherto had never been taken. But surely fortune never displayed such sudden and extraordinary vicissitudes in the life of any other prince; in no other scene of things did she so often change from low to high, from a glorious to an abject condition, or again repair the ruins she had made. Hence he is said, in his greatest adversity, to have addressed her in the words of *Æschylus*—

Thou gavest me life and honour, and thy hand
Now strikes me to the heart.

When his affairs seemed to be in so promising a train for power and empire, news was brought that *Lysimachus*, in the first place, had taken the cities he had in Asia, that *Ptolemy* had dispossessed him of all Cyprus, except the city of *Salamis*, in which he had left his children and his mother, and that this town was now actually besieged. Fortune, however, like the woman in *Archilochus*,

Whose right hand offered water, while the left
Bore hostile fire——

Though she drew him from Lacedæmon by these alarming tidings, yet soon raised him a new scene of

light and hope. She availed herself of these circumstances :

After the death of Cassander, his eldest son Philip had but a short reign over the Macedonians, for he died soon after his father. The two remaining brothers were perpetually at variance. One of them, named Antipater, having killed his mother Thessalonica, Alexander the other brother called in the Greek princes to his assistance, Pyrrhus from Epirus, and Demetrius from Peloponnesus. Pyrrhus arrived first, and seized a considerable part of Macedonia, which he kept for his reward, and by that means became a formidable neighbour to Alexander. Demetrius no sooner received the letters than he marched his forces thither likewise, and the young prince was still more afraid of him on account of his great name and dignity. He met him, however, at Dium, and received him in the most respectful manner, but told him at the same time that his affairs did not now require his presence. Hence mutual jealousies arose, and Demetrius, as he was going to sup with Alexander upon his invitation, was informed that there was a design against his life, which was to be put in execution in the midst of the entertainment. Demetrius was not in the least disconcerted ; he only slackened his pace, and gave orders to his generals to keep the troops under arms : after which he took his guards and the officers of his household, who were much more numerous than those of Alexander, and commanded them to enter the banqueting-room with him, and to remain there till he rose from table. Alexander's people, intimidated by his train, durst not attack Demetrius : and he, for his part, pretending that he was not disposed to drink that evening, soon withdrew. Next day, he prepared to decamp ; and, alleging that he was called off by some new emergency, desired Alexan-

der to excuse him if he left him soon this time; and assured him that at some other opportunity he would make a longer stay. Alexander rejoiced that he was going away voluntarily and without any hostile intentions, and accompanied him as far as Thessaly. When they came to Larissa, they renewed their invitations, but both with malignity in their hearts. In consequence of these polite manœuvres, Alexander fell into the snare of Demetrius. He would not go with a guard, lest he should teach the other to do the same. He therefore suffered that which he was preparing for his enemy, and which he only deferred for the surer and more convenient execution. He went to sup with Demetrius; and as his host rose up in the midst of the feast, Alexander was terrified, and rose up with him. Demetrius, when he was at the door, said no more to his guards than this, "Kill the man that follows me;" and then went out. Upon which, they cut Alexander in pieces, and his friends who attempted to assist him. One of these is reported to have said, as he was dying, "Demetrius is but one day beforehand with us."

The night was, as might be expected, full of terror and confusion. In the morning the Macedonians were greatly disturbed with the apprehension that Demetrius would fall upon them with all his forces; but when, instead of an appearance of hostilities, he sent a message desiring to speak with them, and vindicate what was done, they recovered their spirits, and resolved to receive him with civility: when he came, he found it unnecessary to make long speeches. They hated Antipater for the murder of his mother, and as they had no better prince at hand, they declared Demetrius king, and conducted him into Macedonia. The Macedonians who were at home, proved not averse to the change: for they always remembered with horror Cassan-

der's base behaviour to Alexander the Great; and if they had any regard left for the moderation of old Antipater, it turned all in favour of Demetrius, who had married his daughter Phila, and had a son by her to succeed him in the throne, a youth who was already grown up, and at this very time bore arms under his father.

Immediately after this glorious turn of fortune, Demetrius received news that Ptolemy had set his wife and children at liberty, and dismissed them with presents and other tokens of honour. He was informed too, that his daughter, who had been married to Seleucus, was now wife to Antiochus the son of that prince, and declared queen of the barbarous nations in Upper Asia. Antiochus was violently enamoured of the young Stratonice, though she had a son by his father. His condition was extremely unhappy. He made the greatest efforts to conquer his passion, but they were of no avail. At last, considering that his desires were of the most extravagant kind, that there was no prospect of satisfaction for them, and that the succours of reason entirely failed, he resolved in his despair to rid himself of life, and bring it gradually to a period, by neglecting all care of his person, and abstaining from food; for this purpose he made sickness his pretence. His physician, Erasistratus, easily discovered that his distemper was love; but it was difficult to conjecture who was the object. In order to find it out, he spent whole days in his chamber; and whenever any beautiful person of either sex entered it, he observed with great attention, not only his looks, but every part and motion of the body which corresponds the most with the passions of the soul. When others entered he was entirely unaffected, but when Stratonice came in, as she often did, either alone or with Seleucus, he showed all the symptoms

described by Sappho, the faltering voice, the burning blush, the languid eye, the sudden sweat, the tumultuous pulse; and at length, the passion overcoming his spirits, a *deliquium* and mortal paleness.

Erasistratus concluded from these tokens that the prince was in love with Stratonice, and perceived that he intended to carry the secret with him to the grave. He saw the difficulty of breaking the matter to Seleucus; yet he depending upon the affection which the king had for his son, he ventured one day to tell him, "That the young man's disorder was love, but love for which there was no remedy." The king, quite astonished, said, "How! love for which there is no remedy!" "It is certainly so," answered Erasistratus, "for he is in love with my wife." "What! Erasistratus!" said the king, "would you, who are my friend, refuse to give up your wife to my son, when you see us in danger of losing our only hope?" "Nay, would you do such a thing," answered the physician, "though you are his father, if he were in love with Stratonice?" "O my friend," replied Seleucus, "how happy should I be, if either God or man could remove his affections thither! I would give up my kingdom, so I could but keep Antiochus." He pronounced these words with so much emotion, and such a profusion of tears, that Erasistratus took him by the hand, and said, "Then there is no need of Erasistratus. You, sir, who are a father, a husband, and a king, will be the best physician too for your family."

Upon this, Seleucus summoned the people to meet in full assembly, and told them, "It was his will and pleasure that Antiochus should intermarry with Stratonice, and that they should be declared king and queen of the Upper Provinces. He believed," he said, "that Antiochus, who was such an obedient son, would not oppose his desire; and if the

princess should oppose the marriage, as an unprecedented thing, he hoped his friends would persuade her to think, that what was agreeable to the king, and advantageous to the kingdom, was both just and honourable." Such is said to have been the cause of the marriage between Antiochus and Stratonice.

Demetrius was now master of Macedonia and Thessaly; and as he had great part of Peloponnesus too, and the cities of Megara and Athens on the other side the Isthmus, he wanted to reduce the Bœotians, and threatened them with hostilities. At first they proposed to come to an accommodation with him on reasonable conditions; but Cleonymus the Spartan having thrown himself in the meantime into Thebes with his army, the Bœotians were so much elated that, at the instigation of Pisis, the Thespian, who was a leading man among them, they broke off the treaty. Demetrius then drew up his machines to the walls, and laid siege to Thebes; upon which Cleonymus, apprehending the consequence, stole out; and the Thebans were so much intimidated, that they immediately surrendered. Demetrius placed garrisons in their cities, exacted large contributions, and left Hieronymus the historian governor of Bœotia. He appeared, however, to make a merciful use of his victory, particularly in the case of Pisis; for though he took him prisoner, he did not offer him any injury: on the contrary, he treated him with great civility and politeness, and appointed him *polemarch* of Thespiz.

Not long after this, Lysimachus being taken prisoner by Dromichætes, Demetrius marched towards Thrace with all possible expedition, hoping to find it in a defenceless state. But, while he was gone, the Bœotians revolted again, and he had the mortification to hear, on the road, that Lysimachus was set

at liberty. He therefore immediately turned back in great anger; and finding, on his return, that the Bœotians were already driven out of the field by his son Antigonus, he laid siege again to Thebes. However, as Pyrrhus had overrun all Thessaly, and was advanced as far as Thermopylæ, Demetrius left the conduct of the siege to his son Antigonus, and marched against the warrior.

Pyrrhus immediately retiring, Demetrius placed a guard of ten thousand foot and a thousand horse in Thessaly, and then returned to the siege. His first operation was to bring up his machine called *helepoles*; but he proceeded in it with great labour and by slow degrees, by reason of its size and weight; he could scarce move it two furlongs in two months*. As the Bœotians made a vigorous resistance, and Demetrius often obliged his men to renew the assault, rather out of a spirit of animosity than the hope of any advantage, young Antigonus was greatly concerned at seeing such numbers fall, and said, "Why, Sir, do we let these brave fellows lose their lives without any necessity?" Demetrius, offended at the liberty he took, made answer, "Why do you trouble yourself about it? Have you any provisions to find for the dead?" To show, however, that he was not prodigal of the lives of his troops only, he took his share in the danger, and received a wound from a lance that pierced through his neck. This gave him excessive pain, yet he continued the siege till he once more made himself master of Thebes. He entered the city with such an air of resentment and severity that the inhabitants expected to suffer the most dreadful punishments; yet he contented himself with putting thirteen of them to death, and banishing a few more. All the

* A wonderful kind of motion this for a machine that ran upon wheels! about twelve inches in an hour†

rest he pardoned. Thus Thebes was taken twice within ten years after its being rebuilt.

The Pythian games now approached, and Demetrius on this occasion took a very extraordinary step. As the Ætolians were in possession of the passes to Delphi, he ordered the games to be solemnized at Athens; alleging, that they could not pay their homage to Apollo in a more proper place than that where the people considered him as their patron and progenitor.

From thence he returned to Macedonia: but as he was naturally indisposed for a life of quiet and inaction, and observed besides that the Macedonians were attentive and obedient to him in time of war, though turbulent and seditious in peace, he undertook an expedition against the Ætolians. After he had ravaged the country, he left Pantauchus there with a respectable army, and with the rest of his forces marched against Pyrrhus. Pyrrhus was coming to seek him; but as they happened to take different roads and missed each other, Demetrius laid waste Epirus, and Pyrrhus falling upon Pantauchus, obliged him to stand on his defence. The two generals met in the action, and both gave and received wounds. Pyrrhus, however, defeated his adversary, killed great numbers of his men, and made five thousand prisoners.

This battle was the principal cause of Demetrius's ruin; for Pyrrhus was not so much hated by the Macedonians for the mischief he had done them as admired for his personal bravery; and the late battle in particular gained him great honour: inso-much that many of the Macedonians said, "That of all the kings, it was in Pyrrhus only that they saw a lively image of Alexander's valour; whereas the other princes, especially Demetrius, imitated him

only in a theatrical manner, by affecting a lofty port and majestic air."

Indeed, Demetrius did always appear like a theatrical king. For he not only affected a superfluity of ornament in wearing a double diadem, and a robe of purple interwoven with gold, but he had his shoes made of cloth of gold, with soles of fine purple. There was a robe a long time in weaving for him, of most sumptuous magnificence. The figure of the world and all the heavenly bodies were to be represented upon it: but it was left unfinished, on account of his change of fortune. Nor did any of his successors ever presume to wear it, though Macedon had many pompous kings after him.

This ostentation of dress offended a people who were unaccustomed to such sights; but his luxurious and dissolute manner of life was a more obnoxious circumstance: and what disoblged them most of all was his difficulty of access. For he either refused to see those who applied to him, or behaved to them in a harsh and haughty manner. Though he favoured the Athenians more than the rest of the Greeks, their ambassadors waited two years at his court for an answer. The Lacedæmonians happening to send only one ambassador to him, he considered it as an affront, and said in great anger, "What! have the Lacedæmonians sent no more than one ambassador." "No," said the Spartan, acutely in his laconic way, "one ambassador to one king."

One day, when he seemed to come out in a more obliging temper, and to be something less inaccessible, he was presented with several petitions, all which he received, and put them in the skirt of his robe. The people of course followed him with great joy: but no sooner was he come to the bridge over

the *Axius* than he opened his robe, and ~~threw~~ took them all into the river. This stung the Macedonians to the heart; when, looking for the protection of a king, they found the insolence of a tyrant. And this treatment appeared the harder to such as had seen, or heard from those who had seen, how kind the behaviour of Philip was on such occasions. An old woman was one day very troublesome to him in the street, and begged with great importunity to be heard. He said, "He was not at leisure." "Then," cried the old woman, "you should not be a king." The king was struck with these words; and having considered the thing a moment, he returned to his palace; where, postponing all other affairs, he gave audience for several days to all who chose to apply to him, beginning with the old woman. Indeed, nothing becomes a king so much as the distribution of justice. For "Mars is a tyrant," as Timotheus expresses it; but justice, according to Pindar, "Is the rightful sovereign of the world." The things which, Homer tells us, kings receive from Jove, are not machines for taking towns, or ships with brazen beaks, but law and justice*: these they are to guard and to cultivate. And it is not the most warlike, the most violent and sanguinary, but the justest of princes, whom he calls the disciple of Jupiter†. But Demetrius was pleased with an appellation quite opposite to that which is given the king of the Gods. For Jupiter is called *Policus* and *Poliuchus*, the *patron* and *guardian of cities*; Demetrius is surnamed *Poliorcetes*, the *destroyer of cities*. Thus in consequence of the union of power and folly, vice is substituted in the place of virtue, and the ideas of glory and injustice are united too.

* Il. l. l. 231.

† Od. xix. 178.

When Demetrius laid dangerously ill at Pella, he was very near losing Macedonia; for Pyrrhus, by a sudden inroad, penetrated as far as Edessa: but as soon as he recovered, he repulsed him with ease, and afterwards he came to terms with him: for he was not willing to be hindered, by skirmishing for posts with Pyrrhus, from the pursuit of greater and more arduous enterprises. His scheme was to recover all his father's dominions; and his preparations were suitable to the greatness of the object. For he had raised an army of ninety-eight thousand foot, and near twelve thousand horse; and he was building five hundred galleys in the ports of Piræus, Corinth, Chalcis, and Pella. He went himself to all these places, to give directions to the workmen, and assist in the construction. All the world was surprised, not only at the number, but at the greatness of his works. For no man, before his time, ever saw a galley of fifteen or sixteen banks of oars. Afterwards, indeed, Ptolemy Philopater built one of forty banks: its length was two hundred and eighty cubits, and its heights to the top of the prow forty eight cubits. Four hundred mariners belonged to it, exclusive of the rowers, who were no fewer than four thousand; and the decks and the several interstices were capable of containing near three thousand soldiers. This, however, was mere matter of curiosity; for it differed very little from an immovable building, and was calculated more for show than for use, as it could not be put in motion without great difficulty and danger. But the ships of Demetrius had their use as well as beauty; with all their magnificence of construction, they were equally fit for fighting; and though they were admirable for their size, they were still more so for the swiftness of their motion.

Demetrius having provided such an armament for

the invasion of Asia as no man ever had before him, except Alexander the Great; Seleucus, Ptolemy, and Lysimachus united against him. They likewise joined in an application to Pyrrhus, desiring him to fall upon Macedonia; and not to look to himself as bound by the treaty with Demetrius, since that prince had entered into it, not with any regard to the advantage of Pyrrhus, or in order to avoid future hostilities, but merely for his own sake, that he might at present be at liberty to turn his arms against whom he pleased. As Pyrrhus accepted the proposal, Demetrius, while he was preparing for his voyage, found himself surrounded with war at home. For, at one instant of time, Ptolemy came with a great fleet to draw Greece off from its present master, Lysimachus invaded Macedonia from Thrace, and Pyrrhus entering it from a nearer quarter, joined in ravaging the country. Demetrius, on this occasion, left his son in Greece, and went himself to the relief of Macedonia. His first operations were intended against Lysimachus, but as he was upon his march he received an account that Pyrrhus had taken Bercea; and the news soon spreading among his Macedonians, he could do nothing in an orderly manner: for nothing was to be found in the whole army but lamentations, tears, and expressions of resentment and reproach against their king. They were even ready to march off, under pretence of attending to their domestic affairs, but in fact to join Lysimachus.

In this case Demetrius thought proper to get at the greatest distance he could from Lysimachus, and turn his arms against Pyrrhus. Lysimachus was of their own nation, and many of them knew him in the service of Alexander; whereas Pyrrhus was an entire stranger, and therefore he thought the Macedonians would never give him the preference. But he

was sadly mistaken in his conjecture; and he soon found it upon encamping near Pyrrhus. The Macedonians always admired his distinguished valour, and had of old been accustomed to think the best man in the field the most worthy of a crown. Besides, they received daily accounts of the clemency with which he behaved to his prisoners. Indeed, they were inclined to desert to him or any other, so they could but get rid of Demetrius. They therefore began to go off privately and in small parties at first, but afterwards there was nothing but open disorder and mutiny in the camp. At last some of them had the assurance to go to Demetrius, and bid him provide for himself by flight, for "The Macedonians (they told him) were tired of fighting to maintain his luxury." These expressions appeared modest in comparison of the rude behaviour of others. He therefore entered his tent not like a real king, but a theatrical one, and having quitted his royal robe for a black one, privately withdrew. As multitudes were pillaging his tent, who not only tore it in pieces, but fought for the plunder, Pyrrhus made his appearance; upon which, the tumult instantly ceased, and the whole army submitted to him. Lysimachus and he then divided Macedonia between them, which Demetrius had held without disturbance for seven years,

Demetrius, thus fallen from the pinnacle of power, fled to Cassandria, where his wife Phila was. Nothing could equal her sorrow on this occasion. She could not bear to see the unfortunate Demetrius once more a private man and an exile! in her despair, therefore, and detestation of fortune, who was always more constant to him in her visits of adversity than prosperity, she took poison.

Demetrius, however, resolved to gather up the remains of his wreck: for which purpose he repaired

to Greece, and collected such of his friends and officers as he found there. Menelaus, in one of the tragedies of Sophocles, gives this picture of his own fortune :

I move on Fortune's rapid wheel : my lot
For ever changing like the changeful moon,
That each night varies ; hardly now perceived ;
And now she shows her bright horn ; by degrees
She fills her orb with light ; but when she reigns
In all her pride, she then begins once more
To waste her glories, till dissolved and lost,
She sinks again to darkness.—

But this picture is more applicable to Demetrius, in his increase and wane, his splendour and obscurity. His glory seemed now entirely eclipsed and extinguished, and yet it broke out again, and shone with new splendour. Fresh forces came in, and gradually filled up the measure of his hopes. This was the first time he addressed the cities as a private man, and without any of the ensigns of royalty. Somebody seeing him at Thebes in this condition, applied to him, with propriety enough, those verses of Euripides,

To Dirce's fountain, and Ismenus' shore
In mortal form he moves a God no more.

When he had got into the high road of hope again, and had once more a respectable force and form of royalty about him, he restored the Thebans their ancient government and laws. At the same time the Athenians abandoned his interests, and razing out of their registers the name of Diphilus, who was then priest of the gods protectors, ordered Archons to be appointed again, according to ancient custom. They likewise sent for Pyrrhus from Macedonia, because they saw Demetrius grown stronger than they expected ; Demetrius, greatly enraged,

marched immediately to attack them, and laid strong siege to the city. But Crates the philosopher, a man of great reputation and authority, being sent out to him by the people, partly by his entreaties for the Athenians, and partly by representing to him that his interest laid another way, prevailed on Demetrius to raise the siege. After this, he collected all his ships, embarked his army, which consisted of eleven thousand foot, beside cavalry, and sailed to Asia, in hopes of drawing Caria and Lydia over from Lysimachus. Eurydice, the sister of Phila, received him at Miletus, having brought with her Ptolemais, a daughter she had by Ptolemy, who had formerly been promised him upon the application of Seleucus. Demetrius married her with the free consent of Eurydice, and soon after attempted the cities in that quarter; many of them opened their gates to him, and many others he took by force. Among the latter was Sardis. Some of the officers of Lysimachus likewise deserted to him, and brought sufficient appointments of money and troops with them. But, as Agathocles the son of Lysimachus came against him with a great army, he marched to Phrygia, with an intention to seize Armenia, and then to try Media and the Upper Provinces, which might afford him many places of retreat upon occasion. Agathocles followed him close, and as he found Demetrius superior in all the skirmishes that he ventured upon, he betook himself to cutting off his convoys. This distressed him not a little; and, what was another disagreeable circumstance, his soldiers suspected that he designed to lead them into Armenia and Media.

The famine increased every day; and by mistaking the fords of the river Lycus he had a great number of men swept away with the stream. Yet, amidst all their distress, his troops were capable of jesting.

One of them wrote upon the door of his tent the beginning of the tragedy of *Cædipus* with a small alteration,

Thou offspring of the blind old king *Antigonous*,
Where dost thou lead us?

Pestilence at last followed the famine, as it commonly happens when people are under a necessity of eating any thing, however unwholesome, so that finding he had lost in all not less than eight thousand men, he turned back with the rest. When he came down to *Tarsus*, he was desirous of sparing the country, because it belonged to *Seleucus*, and he did not think proper to give him any pretence to declare against him. But perceiving that it was impossible for his troops to avoid taking something, when they were reduced to such extremities, and that *Agathocles* had fortified the passes of *Mount Taurus*, he wrote a letter to *Seleucus* containing a long and moving detail of his misfortune, and concluding with strong entreaties that he would take compassion on a prince who was allied to him, and whose sufferings were such as even an enemy might be affected with.

Seleucus was touched with pity, and sent orders to his lieutenants in those parts to supply *Demetrius* with every thing suitable to the state of a king, and his army with sufficient provisions. But *Patrocles*, who was a man of understanding, and a faithful friend to *Seleucus*, went to that prince and represented to him, "That the expense of furnishing the troops of *Demetrius* with provisions was a thing of small importance, in comparison of suffering *Demetrius* himself to remain in the country, who was always one of the most violent and enterprising princes in the world, and now was in such desperate

circumstances as might put even those of the mildest dispositions on bold and unjust attempts."

Upon these representations Seleucus marched into Cilicia with a great army. Demetrius, astonished and terrified at the sudden change of Seleucus, withdrew to the strongest posts he could find upon Mount Taurus, and sent a message to him, begging, "That he might be suffered to make a conquest of some free nations of barbarians, and by settling amongst them as their king, put a period to his wanderings. If this could not be granted, he hoped Seleucus would at least permit him to winter in that country, and not, by driving him out naked and in want of every thing, expose him in that condition to his enemies,"

All these proposals had a suspicious appearance to Seleucus, he made answer, "That he might, if he pleased, spend two months of the winter in Cataonia, if he sent him his principal friends as hostages." But at the same time he secured the passes into Syria. Demetrius, thus surrounded like a wild beast in the toils, was under a necessity of having recourse to violence. He therefore ravaged the country, and had the advantage of Seleucus whenever he attacked him. Seleucus once beset him with his armed chariots, and yet he broke through them, and put his enemy to the route. After this he dislodged the corps that was to defend the heights on the side of Syria, and made himself master of the passages.

Elevated with this success, and finding the courage of his men restored, he prepared to fight a decisive battle with Seleucus. That prince was now in great perplexity. He had rejected the succours offered him by Lysimachus, for want of confidence in his honour, and from an apprehension of his designs; and he was loath to try his strength with De-

metrius, because he dreaded his desperate courage, as well as his usual change of fortune, which often raised him from great misery to the summit of power. In the meantime Demetrius was seized with a fit of sickness, which greatly impaired his personal vigour, and entirely ruined his affairs: for part of his men went over to the enemy, and part left their colours and dispersed. In forty days he recovered with great difficulty; and, getting under march with the remains of his army, made a feint of moving towards Cilicia. But afterwards in the night he decamped without sound of trumpet, and taking the contrary way, crossed Mount Amanus, and ravaged the country on the other side as far as Cyrrhestica.

Seleucus followed, and encamped very near him. Demetrius then put his army in motion in the night, in hopes of surprising him. Seleucus was retired to rest; and in all probability his enemy would have succeeded, had not some deserters informed him of his danger, just time enough for him to put himself in a posture of defence: Upon this he started up in great consternation, and ordered the trumpets to sound an alarm; and as he put on his sandals, he said to his friends, "What a terrible wild beast are we engaged with!" Demetrius perceiving by the tumult in the enemy's camp that his scheme was discovered, retired as fast as possible.

At break of day Seleucus offered him battle, when Demetrius ordering one of his officers to take care of one wing, put himself at the head of the other, and made some impression upon the enemy. Meantime Seleucus quitting his horse, and laying aside his helmet, presented himself to Demetrius's hired troops with only his buckler in his hand; exhorting them to come over to him, and to be convinced at last that it was to spare them, not Demetrius, that he had been so long about the war. Upon

which they all saluted him king, and ranged themselves under his banner.

Demetrius, though of all the changes he had experienced he thought this the most terrible, yet imagining that he might extricate himself from this distress as well as the rest, fled to the passes of Mount Amanus; and gaining a thick wood, waited there for the night, with a few friends and attendants who followed his fortune. His intention was, if possible, to take the way to Caunus, where he hoped to find his fleet, and from thence to make his escape by sea; but knowing he had not provisions even for that day, he sought for some other expedient. Afterwards one of his friends, named Sosigenes, arrived with four hundred pieces of gold in his purse; with the assistance of which money they hoped to reach the sea. Accordingly when night came, they attempted to pass the heights; but finding a number of fires lighted there by the enemy, they despaired of succeeding that way, and returned to their former retreat, but neither with their whole company (for some had gone off), nor with the same spirits. One of them venturing to tell him, that he thought it was best for him to surrender himself to Seleucus, Demetrius drew his sword to kill himself; but his friends interposed, and consoling him in the best manner they could, persuaded him to follow his advice: in consequence of which he sent to Seleucus, and yielded himself to his discretion.

Upon this news, Seleucus said to those about him, "It is not the good fortune of Demetrius, but mine, that now saves him; and that adds to other favours this opportunity of testifying my humanity." Then calling the officers of his household, he ordered them to pitch a royal tent, and to provide every thing else for his reception and entertainment in the most magnificent manner. As there happened to be in the

service of Seleucus one Apollonides, who was an old acquaintance of Demetrius, he immediately sent that person to him, that he might be more at ease, and come with the greater confidence, as to a son-in-law and a friend.

On the discovery of this favourable disposition of Seleucus towards him, at a first view, and afterwards a great number of the courtiers waited on Demetrius, and strove which should pay him the most respect; for it was expected that his interest with Seleucus would soon be the best in the kingdom. But these compliments turned the compassion which his distress had excited into jealousy, and gave occasion to the envious and malevolent to divert the stream of the king's humanity from him, by alarming him with apprehensions of no insensible change, but of the greatest commotions in his army on the sight of Demetrius.

Apollonides was now come to Demetrius with great satisfaction; and others who followed to pay their court brought extraordinary accounts of the kindness of Seleucus; insomuch that Demetrius, though in the first shock of his misfortune, he had thought it a great disgrace to surrender himself, was now displeased at his aversion to that step. Such confidence had he in the hopes they held out to him; when Pausanias coming with a party of horse and foot, to the number of a thousand, suddenly surrounded him, and drove away such as he found inclined to favour his cause. After he had thus seized his person, instead of conducting him to the presence of Seleucus, he carried him to the Syrian Chersonesus. There he was kept, indeed, under a strong guard, but Seleucus sent him a sufficient equipage, and supplied him with money and a table suitable to his rank. He had also places of exercise and walks worthy of a king; his parks were well stored with

game; and such of his friends as had accompanied him in his flight were permitted to attend him. Seleucus, too, had the complaisance often to send some of his people with kind and encouraging messages, intimating, that as soon as Antiochus and Stratonice should arrive, terms of accommodation would be hit upon, and he would obtain his liberty.

Under this misfortune, Demetrius wrote to his son, and to his officers and friends in Athens and Corinth, desiring them to trust neither his handwriting nor his seal, but to act as if he were dead, and to keep the cities and all his remaining estates for Antigonus. When the young prince was informed of his father's confinement, he was extremely concerned at it; he put on mourning, and wrote not only to the other kings, but to Seleucus himself; offering, on condition that his father were set free, to cede all the possessions they had left, and deliver himself up as an hostage. Many cities and princes joined in the request; but Lysimachus was not of the number. On the contrary, he offered Seleucus a large sum of money to induce him to put Demetrius to death. Seleucus, who looked upon him in an indifferent light before, abhorred him as a villain for his proposal; and only waited for the arrival of Antiochus and Stratonice, to make them the compliment of restoring Demetrius to his liberty.

Demetrius, who at first supported his misfortune with patience, by custom learned to submit to it with a still better grace. For some time he took the exercises of hunting and running; but he left them by degrees, and sunk into indolence and inactivity. Afterwards he took to drinking and play, and spent most of his time in that kind of dissipation. Whether it was to put off the thoughts of his present condition, which he could not bear in his sober hours, and to drown reflection in the bowl; or whether he was sen-

sible at last that this was the sort of life which, though originally the object of his desires, he had idly wandered from, to follow the dictates of an absurd ambition. Perhaps he considered that he had given himself and others infinite trouble, by seeking with fleets and armies that happiness which he found, when he least expected it, in ease, indulgence, and repose. For what other end does the wretched vanity of kings propose to itself in all their wars and dangers, but to quit the paths of virtue and honour for those of luxury and pleasure; the sure consequence of their not knowing what real pleasure and true enjoyment are.

Demetrius, after three years confinement in the Chersonesus, fell into a distemper occasioned by idleness and excess, which carried him off at the age of fifty-four. Seleucus was severely censured, and indeed was much concerned himself, for his unjust suspicions of Demetrius; whereas he should have followed the example of Dromichaetes, who, though a Thracian and barbarian, had treated Lysimachus, when his prisoner, with all the generosity that became a king.

There was something of a theatrical pomp even in the funeral of Demetrius. For Antigonus being informed that they were bringing his father's ashes to Greece, went to meet them with his whole fleet; and finding them near the Isles of the Ægean sea, he took the urn, which was of solid gold, on board the admiral galley. The cities at which they touched sent crowns to adorn the urn, and persons in mourning to assist at the funeral solemnity.

When the fleet approached Corinth, the urn was seen in a conspicuous position upon the stern of the vessel, adorned with a purple robe and a diadem, and attended by a company of young men well armed. Xenophantus, a most celebrated performer on the

flute, sat by the urn, and played a solemn air. The oars kept time with the notes, and accompanied them with a melancholy sound, like that of mourners in a funeral procession, beating their breasts in concert with the music. But it was the mournful appearance and the tears of Antigonus that excited the greatest compassion among the people as they passed. After the Corinthians had bestowed crowns and all due honours upon the remains, Antigonus carried them to Demetrius, and deposited them there. This was a city called after the deceased, which he had peopled from the little towns about Jolcos.

Demetrius left behind him several children; Antigonus and Stratonice, whom he had by his wife Phila; two sons of the name of Demetrius; one surnamed *The Slender*, by an Illyrian woman; the other was by Ptolemais, and came to be king of Cyrene. By Deidamia he had Alexander, who took up his residence in Egypt; and by his last wife Eurydice he is said to have had a son named Corrhæbus. His posterity enjoyed the throne in continued succession down to Perseus* the last king of Macedon, in whose time the Romans subdued that country. Thus having gone through the Macedonian drama, it is time that we bring the Roman upon the stage.

* About one hundred and sixteen years,

ANTONY.

THE grandfather of Mark Antony was Antony the orator, who followed the faction of Sylla, and was put to death by Marius*. His father was Antony, surnamed the Cretan, a man of no figure or consequence in the political world †, but distinguished for his integrity, benevolence, and liberality; of which the following little circumstance is a sufficient proof. His fortune was not large; and his wife, therefore, very prudently laid some restraint on his munificent disposition. An acquaintance of his, who was under some pecuniary difficulties, applied to him for assistance. Antony, having no money at command, ordered his boy to bring him a silver bason full of water, under a pretence of shaving. After the boy was dismissed, he gave the bason to his friend, and bade him make what use of it he thought proper. The disappearance of the bason occasioned no small commotion in the family; and Antony finding his wife prepared to take a severe account of the servants, begged her pardon, and told her the truth.

His wife's name was Julia. She was of the family of the Cæsars, and a woman of distinguished merit and modesty. Under her auspices Mark Antony received his education; when, after the death of his father, she married Cornelius Lentulus, whom Cicero put to death for engaging in the conspiracy of Catiline. This was the origin of that lasting enmity

* Valerius Maximus says, that Antony the orator was put to death by the joint order of Cinna and Marius. But Cicero mentions Cinna as the immediate cause. *Cic. Philip. 1.*

† Nevertheless, he conducted the war in Crete, and from thence was called *Cretensis*.

which subsisted between Cicero and Antony. The latter affirmed, that his mother Julia was even obliged to beg the body of Cicero's wife for interment. But this is not true; for none of those who suffered on the same occasion, under Cicero, were refused this privilege. Antony was engaging in his person, and was unfortunate enough to fall into the good graces and friendship of Curio, a man who was devoted to every species of licentiousness, and who, to render Antony the more dependent on him, led him into all the excesses of indulging in wine and women, and all the expenses that such indulgences are attended with. Of course, he was soon deeply involved in debt, and owed at least two hundred and fifty talents, while he was a very young man. Curio was bound for the payment of this money; and his father being informed of it, banished Antony from his house. Thus dismissed, he attached himself to Clodius, that pestilent and audacious tribune, who threw the state into such dreadful disorder; till weary of his mad measures, and fearful of his opponents, he passed into Greece, where he employed himself in military exercises, and the study of eloquence. The Asiatic style* was then much in vogue, and Antony fell naturally into it; for it was correspondent with his manners, which were vain, pompous, insolent, and assuming.

In Greece he received an invitation from Gabinius the proconsul, to make a campaign with him in Syria†. This invitation he refused to accept, as a private man; but being appointed to the command of

* Cicero, in his *Brutus*, mentions two sorts of style called the Asiatic. *Unum sententiosum et argutum, sententiis non tam gravibus et severis quam concinnis et venustis. Aliud autem genus est non tam sententiis frequentatum quam verbis voluere, atque inartatum; quali nunc est Asia tota, nec flumine solum orationis, sed etiam exornato et faceto genere verborum.*

† Aulus Gabinius was consul in the year of Rome 695; and the year following he went into Syria.

the cavalry, he attended him. His first operation was against Aristobulus, who had excited the Jews to revolt. He was the first who scaled the wall; and this he did in the highest part. He drove Aristobulus from all his forts; and afterwards, with a handful of men, defeated his numerous army in a pitched battle. Most of the enemy were slain, and Aristobulus and his son were taken prisoners. Upon the conclusion of this war, Gabinius was solicited by Ptolemy to carry his arms into Egypt, and restore him to his kingdom*. The reward of this service was to be ten thousand talents. Most of the officers disapproved of the expedition; and Gabinius himself did not readily enter into it, though the money pleaded strongly in its behalf. Antony, however, ambitious of great enterprises, and vain of gratifying a suppliant king, used every means to draw Gabinius into the service, and prevailed. It was the general opinion that the march to Pelusium was more dangerous than the war that was to follow. For they were to pass over a sandy and unwatered country, by the filthy marsh of Serbonis, whose stagnant ooze the Egyptians call the exhalations of Typhon; though it is probably no more than the drainings of the Red Sea, which is there separated from the Mediterranean only by a small neck of land.

Antony being ordered thither with the cavalry, not only seized the straits, but took the large city of Pelusium, and made the garrison prisoners. By this operation he at once opened a secure passage for the army, and a fair prospect of victory for their general. The same love of glory which was so serviceable to his own party was, on this occasion, advantageous to the enemy. For when Ptolemy entered Pelusium, in the rage of revenge, he would have put the citizens to death, but Antony resolutely opposed it, and

* Dion. l. xxxix.

prevented him from executing his horrid purpose. In the several actions where he was concerned, he gave distinguished proofs of his conduct and valour, but especially in that manœuvre where, by wheeling about and attacking the enemy in the rear, he enabled those who charged in front to gain a complete victory. For this action he received suitable honours and rewards.

His humane care of the body of Archelaus, who fell in the battle, was taken notice of even by the common men. He had been his intimate friend, and connected with him in the rights of hospitality; and though he was obliged, by his duty, to oppose him in the field, he no sooner heard that he was fallen than he ordered search to be made for his body, and interred it with regal magnificence. This conduct made him respected in Alexandria, and admired by the Romans.

Antony had a noble dignity of countenance, a graceful length of beard, a large forehead, an aquiline nose; and, upon the whole, the same manly aspect that we see in the pictures and statues of Hercules. There was, indeed, an ancient tradition, that his family was descended from Hercules, by a son of his called Anteon; and it was no wonder if Antony sought to confirm this opinion, by affecting to resemble him in his air and his dress. Thus, when he appeared in public, he wore his vest girt on the hips, a large sword, and over all a coarse mantle. That kind of conduct which would seem disagreeable to others, rendered him the darling of the army. He talked with the soldiers in their own swagger and ribbald strain, eat and drank with them in public, and would stand to take his victuals at their common table. He was pleasant on the subject of his amours, ready in assisting the intrigues of others, and easy under the raillery to which he

was subjected by his own. His liberality to the soldiers and to his friends was the first foundation of his advancement, and continued to support him in that power which he was otherwise weakening by a thousand irregularities. One instance of his liberality I must mention. He had ordered two hundred and fifty thousand drachmas (which the Romans call *decies*) to be given to one of his friends. His steward, who was startled at the extravagance of the sum, laid the silver in a heap, that he might see it as he passed. He saw it, and inquired what it was for. "It is the sum," answered the steward, "that you ordered for a present." Antony perceived his envious design, and, to mortify him still more, said coolly, "I really thought the sum would have made a better figure. It is too little: let it be doubled*." This, however, was in the latter part of his life.

Rome was divided into two parties. Pompey was with the senate. The people were for bringing Cæsar with his army out of Gaul. Curio, the friend of Antony, who had changed sides, and joined Cæsar, brought Antony likewise over to his interest. The influence he had obtained by his eloquence, and by that profusion of money in which he was supported by Cæsar, enabled him to make Antony tribune of the people, and afterwards augur. Antony was no sooner in power than Cæsar found the advantage of his services. In the first place he opposed the consul Marcellus, whose design was to give Pompey the command of the old legions, and at the same time to empower him to raise new ones. On this occasion he obtained a decree, that the forces then on foot should be sent into Syria, and join Bibulus in carrying on the war against the

* The same story is told of Alexander.

Parthians ; and that none should give in their names to serve under Pompey. On another occasion, when the senate would neither receive Cæsar's letters, nor suffer them to be read, he read them by virtue of his tribunitial authority ; and the requests of Cæsar appearing moderate and reasonable, by this means he got over many to his interest. Two questions were at length put in the senate ; one, " Whether Pompey should dismiss his army ;" the other, " Whether Cæsar should give up his." There were but a few votes for the former, a large majority for the latter. Then Antony stood up, and put the question, " Whether both Cæsar and Pompey should not dismiss their armies." This motion was received with great acclamations, and Antony was applauded, and desired to put it to the vote. This being opposed by the consuls, the friends of Cæsar made other proposals, which seemed by no means unreasonable : But they were overruled by Cato*, and Antony commanded by Lentulus the consul to leave the house. He left them with bitter execrations ; and disguising himself like a servant, accompanied only by Quintus Cassius, he hired a carriage, and went immediately to Cæsar. As soon as they arrived, they exclaimed that nothing was conducted at Rome according to order or law, that even the tribunes were refused the privilege of speaking, and whoever would rise in defence of the right must be expelled, and exposed to personal danger.

Cæsar, upon this, marched his army into Italy, and hence it was observed by Cicero, in his *Philippics*, that Antony was no less the cause of the civil war in Rome than Helen had been of the Trojan

* Cicero asserts, that Antony was the immediate cause of the civil war ; but if he could have laid down his prejudice, he might have discovered a more immediate cause in the impolitic resentment of Cato.

war". There is, however, but little truth in this assertion. Cæsar was not so much a slave to the impulse of resentment as to enter on so desperate a measure, if it had not been premeditated. Nor would he have carried war into the bowels of his country, merely because he saw Antony and Cassius flying to him in a mean dress and a hired carriage. At the same time, these things might give some colour to the commencement of these hostilities which had been long determined. Cæsar's motive was the same which had before driven Alexander and Cyrus over the ruins of humankind, the insatiable lust of empire, the frantic ambition of being the first man upon earth, which he knew he could not be while Pompey was yet alive.

As soon as he was arrived at Rome, and had driven Pompey out of Italy, his first design was to attack his legions in Spain, and having a fleet in readiness, to go afterwards in pursuit of Pompey himself, while, in the meantime, Rome was left to the government of Lepidus the prætor, and Italy and the army to the command of Antony the tribune. Antony, by the sociability of his disposition, soon made himself agreeable to the soldiers: for he eat and drank with them, and made them presents to the utmost of his ability. To others, his conduct was less acceptable. He was too indolent to attend to the cause of the injured, too violent and too impatient when he was applied to on business, and infamous for his adulteries. In short, though there was nothing tyrannical in the government of Cæsar, it was rendered odious by the ill conduct of his friends; and as Antony had the greatest share of the power, so he bore the greatest part of the blame. Cæsar, notwithstanding, on his return from

* In the second Philippic. *Ut Helena Trojans, sic tota hæc respublica causa belli; causa pestis atque exitii fuit.*

Spain, connived at his irregularities; and, indeed, in the military appointment he had given him, he had not judged improperly; for Antony was a brave, skilful, and active general.

Cæsar embarked at Brundisium, sailed over the Ionian sea with a small number of troops, and sent back the fleet, with orders that Antony and Gabinius should put the army on board, and proceed as fast as possible to Macedonia. Gabinius was afraid of the sea, for it was winter, and the passage was dangerous. He therefore marched his forces a long way round by land. Antony, on the other hand, being apprehensive that Cæsar might be surrounded and overcome by his enemies, beat off Libo, who lay at anchor in the mouth of the haven of Brundisium. By sending out several small vessels, he encompassed Libo's galleys separately, and obliged them to retire. By this means he found an opportunity to embark about twenty thousand foot and eight hundred horse; and with these he set sail. The enemy discovered and made up to him; but he escaped by favour of a strong gale from the south, which made the sea so rough, that the pursuers could not reach him. The same wind, however, at first drove him upon a rocky shore, on which the sea bore so hard that there appeared no hope of escaping shipwreck; but after a little, it turned to the south-west, and, blowing from land to the main sea, Antony sailed in safety, with the satisfaction of seeing the wrecks of the enemy's fleet scattered along the coast. The storm had driven their ships upon the rocks, and many of them went to pieces. Antony made his advantage of this disaster; for he took several prisoners and a considerable booty. He likewise made himself master of the town of Lissus; and, by the seasonable arrival of his reinforcement, the affairs of Cæsar wore a more promising aspect.

Antony distinguished himself in every battle that was fought. Twice he stopped the army in its flight, brought them back to the charge, and gained the victory; so that, in point of military reputation, he was inferior only to Cæsar. What opinion Cæsar had of his abilities appeared in the last decisive battle at Pharsalia. He led the right wing himself, and gave the left to Antony, as to the ablest of his officers. After this battle, Cæsar being appointed dictator, went in pursuit of Pompey, and sent Antony to Rome in character of general of the horse. This officer is next in power to the dictator, and in his absence he commands alone. For, after the election of a dictator, all other magistrates, the tribunes only excepted, are divested of their authority.

Dolabella, one of the tribunes, a young man who was fond of innovations, proposed a law for abolishing debts, and solicited his friend Antony, who was ever ready to gratify the people, to join him in this measure. On the other hand, Asinius and Trebellius dissuaded him from it. Antony happened, at this time, to suspect a criminal connection between Dolabella and his wife, whom, on that account, he dismissed, though she was his first cousin, and daughter to Caius Antonius, who had been colleague with Cicero. In consequence of this, he joined Asinius and opposed Dolabella. The latter had taken possession of the forum, with a design to pass his law by force; and Antony being ordered by the senate to repel force with force, attacked him, killed several of his men, and lost some of his own.

By this action he forfeited the favour of the people: but this was not the only thing that rendered him obnoxious; for men of sense and virtue, as Cicero observes, could not but condemn his nocturnal revels, his enormous extravagance, his scandalous lewdness, his sleeping in the day, his walks to carry

off the qualms of debauchery, and his entertainments on the marriages of players and buffoons. It is said, that after drinking all night at the wedding of Hippias the player, he was summoned in the morning upon business to the forum, when, through a little too much repletion, he was unfortunate enough, in the presence of the people, to return part of his evening fare by the way it had entered; and one of his friends received it in his gown. Sergius the player had the greatest interest with him; and Cytheris*, a lady of the same profession, had the management of his heart. She attended him in his excursions; and her equipage was by no means inferior to his mother's. The people were offended at the pomp of his travelling plate, which was more fit for the ornament of a triumph; at his erecting tents on the road by groves and rivers, for the most luxurious dinners; at his chariots drawn by lions; and at his lodging his ladies of pleasure and female musicians in the houses of modest and sober people. This dissatisfaction at the conduct of Antony could not but be increased by the comparative view of Cæsar. While the latter was supporting the fatigues of a military life, the former was indulging himself in all the dissipation of luxury; and, by means of his delegated power, insulting the citizens.

This conduct occasioned a variety of disturbances in Rome, and gave the soldiers an opportunity to abuse and plunder the people. Therefore, when Cæsar returned to Rome, he pardoned Dolabella; and being created consul the third time, he took Lepidus, and not Antony, for his colleague. Antony purchased Pompey's house; but, when he was required to make the payment, he expressed himself in very angry terms; and this he tells us was the

reason why he would not go with Cæsar into Africa. His former services he thought insufficiently repaid. Cæsar, however, by his disapprobation of Antony's conduct, seems to have thrown some restraint on his dissolute manner of life. He now took it into his head to marry, and made choice of Fulvia, the widow of the seditious Clodius, a woman by no means adapted to domestic employments, nor even contented with ruling her husband as a private man. Fulvia's ambition was to govern those that governed, and to command the leaders of armies. It was to Fulvia, therefore, that Cleopatra was obliged for teaching Antony due submission to female authority. He had gone through such a course of discipline as made him perfectly tractable when he came into her hands.

He endeavoured, however, to amuse the violent spirit of Fulvia by many whimsical and pleasant follies. When Cæsar, after his success in Spain, was on his return to Rome, Antony, amongst others, went to meet him; but a report prevailing that Cæsar was killed, and that the enemy was marching into Italy, he returned immediately to Rome, and, in the disguise of a slave, went to his house by night, pretending that he had letters from Antony to Fulvia. He was introduced to her with his head muffled up; and, before she received the letter, she asked, with impatience, if Antony were well. He presented the letter to her in silence; and, while she was opening it, he threw his arms around her neck and kissed her. We mention this as one instance out of many of his pleasantries.

When Cæsar returned from Spain, most of the principal citizens went some days journey to meet him; but Antony met with the most distinguished reception, and had the honour to ride with him in the same chariot. After them came Brutus

Albinus, and Octavius, the son of Cæsar's niece, who was afterwards called Augustus Cæsar, and for many years was emperor of Rome. Cæsar being created consul for the fifth time, chose Antony for his colleague; but as he intended to quit the consulship in favour of Dolabella, he acquainted the senate with his resolution. Antony, notwithstanding, opposed this measure, and loaded Dolabella with the most flagrant reproaches. Dolabella did not fail to return the abuse; and Cæsar, offended at their indecent behaviour, put off the affair till another time. When it was again proposed, Antony insisted that the omens from the flight of birds were against the measure*. Thus Cæsar was obliged to give up Dolabella, who was not a little mortified by his disappointment. It appears, however, that Cæsar had as little regard for Dolabella as he had for Antony: for when both were accused of designs against him, he said, contemptuously enough, "It is not these fat sleek fellows I am afraid of, but the pale and the lean." By which he meant Brutus and Cassius, who afterwards put him to death. Antony, without intending it, gave them a pretence for that undertaking. When the Romans were celebrating the Lupercalia, Cæsar, in a triumphal habit, sat on the rostrum to see the race. On this occasion many of the young nobility, and the magistracy, anointed with oil, and having white thongs in their hands, run about and strike, as in sport, every one they meet. Antony was of the number; but, regardless of the ceremonies of the institution, he took a garland of laurel, and wreathing it in a diadem, run to the rostrum, where, being lifted up by his companions, he would have placed it on the head of Cæsar, intimating, thereby, the conveyance

* He had this power by virtue of his office as augur.

of regal power. Cæsar, however, seemed to decline the offer, and was therefore applauded by the people. Antony persisted in his design; and for some time there was a contest between them, while he that offered the diadem had the applause of his friends, and he that refused it the acclamations of the multitude. Thus, what is singular enough, while the Romans endured every thing that regal power could impose, they dreaded the name of king as destructive of their liberty. Cæsar was much concerned at this transaction; and, uncovering his neck, he offered his life to any one that would take it. At length the diadem was placed on one of his statues, but the tribunes took it off*; upon which the people followed them home with great acclamations. Afterwards, however, Cæsar showed that he resented this, by turning those tribunes out of office. The enterprise of Brutus and Cassius derived strength and encouragement from these circumstances. To the rest of their friends, whom they had selected for the purpose, they wanted to draw over Antony. Trebonius only objected to him. He informed them that, in their journey to meet Cæsar, he had been generally with him; that he had sounded him on this business by hints, which, though cautious, were intelligible; and that he always expressed his disapprobation, though he never betrayed the secret. Upon this it was proposed that Antony should fall at the same time with Cæsar; but Brutus opposed it. An action, undertaken in support of justice and the laws, he very properly thought, should have nothing unjust attending it. Of Antony, however,

* *Tribuni plebis, Epidius Marcellus, cæsiusque Flavius coronæ fasciam detraxi, hominemque duci in vincula jussissent, dolens seu passum prosperè motam regni mentionem, sive, ut ferebat, creptam sibi gloriâ recusandi, tribunos graviter incroptis potestate privavit.* SUT.

they were afraid, both in respect of his personal valour, and the influence of his office; and it was agreed, that when Cæsar was in the house, and they were on the point of executing their purpose, Antony should be amused without by some pretended discourse of business.

When, in consequence of these measures, Cæsar was slain, Antony absconded in the disguise of a slave; but after he found that the conspirators were assembled in the Capitol, and had no further designs of massacre, he invited them to come down, and sent his son to them as a hostage. That night Cassius supped with him, and Brutus with Lepidus. The day following he assembled the senate, when he proposed that an act of amnesty should be passed; and that provinces should be assigned to Brutus and Cassius. The senate confirmed this, and, at the same time, ratified the acts of Cæsar. Thus Antony acquitted himself in this difficult affair with the highest reputation; and, by saving Rome from a civil war, he proved himself a very able and valuable politician. But the intoxication of glory drew him off from these wise and moderate counsels; and, from his influence with the people, he felt that, if Brutus were borne down, he should be the first man in Rome. With this view, when Cæsar's body was exposed in the *forum*, he undertook the customary funeral oration; and when he found the people affected with his encomiums on the deceased, he endeavoured still more to excite their compassion, by all that was pitiable or aggravating in the massacre. For this purpose, in the close of his oration, he took the robe from the dead body, and held it up to them, bloody as it was, and pierced through with weapons; nor did he hesitate, at the same time, to call the perpetrators of the deed villains and murderers. This had such an effect

upon the people that they immediately tore up the benches and the tables in the *forum*, to make a pile for the body. After they had duly discharged the funeral rites, they snatched the burning brands from the pile, and went to attack the houses of the conspirators.

Brutus and his party now left the city, and Cæsar's friends joined Antony. Calphurnia, the relict of Cæsar, entrusted him with her treasure, which amounted to four thousand talents. All Cæsar's papers, which contained a particular account of his designs, were likewise delivered up to him. Of these he made a very ingenious use; for, by inserting in them what names he thought proper, he made some of his friends magistrates, and others senators; some he recalled from exile, and others he dismissed from prison, on pretence that all these things were so ordered by Cæsar. The people that were thus favoured, the Romans called *Charonites**; because, to support their title, they had recourse to the registers of the dead. The power of Antony, in short, was absolute. He was consul himself: his brother Caius was prætor, and his brother Lucius tribune of the people.

Such was the state of affairs when Octavius, who was the son of Cæsar's niece, and appointed his heir by will, arrived at Rome from Apollonia, where he resided when his uncle was killed. He first visited Antony as the friend of his uncle, and spoke to him concerning the money in his hands, and the legacy of seventy-five drachmas left to every Roman citizen. Antony paid little regard to him at first; and told him, it would be madness for an unexperienced young man, without friends, to take upon him so important an office as that of being executor to Cæsar.

* The slaves who were enfranchised by the last will of their masters, were likewise called *Charonites*.

Octavius, however, was not thus repulsed. He still insisted on the money; and Antony, on the other hand, did every thing to mortify and affront him. He opposed him in his application for the tribuneship; and when he made use of the golden chair, which had been granted by the senate to his uncle*, he threatened that, unless he desisted to solicit the people, he would commit him to prison. But when Octavius joined Cicero and the rest of Antony's enemies, and by their means obtained an interest in the senate; when he continued to pay his court to the people, and drew the veteran soldiers from their quarters, Antony thought it was time to accommodate; and for this purpose gave him a meeting in the Capitol.

An accommodation took place, but it was soon destroyed; for that night Antony dreamed that his right hand was thunderstruck; and, in a few days after he was informed that Octavius had a design on his life. The latter would have justified himself, but was not believed; so that, of course, the breach became as wide as ever. They now went immediately over Italy, and endeavoured to be beforehand with each other, in securing, by rewards and promises, the old troops that were in different quarters, and such legions as were still on foot.

Cicero, who had then considerable influence in the city, incensed the people against Antony, and prevailed on the senate to declare him a public enemy; to send the rods and the rest of the prætorial ensigns to young Cæsar, and to commission Hirtius and Pansa, the consuls, to drive Antony out of Italy. The two armies engaged near Modena; and Cæsar was present at the battle. Both the consuls

* The senate had decreed to Cæsar the privilege of using a golden chair, adorned with a crown of gold and precious stones, in all the theatres. Dion. l. xlv.

were slain ; but Antony was defeated. In his flight he was reduced to great extremities, particularly by famine. Distress, however, was to him a school of moral improvement ; and Antony, in adversity, was almost a man of virtue. Indeed it is common for men under misfortunes to have a clear idea of their duty ; but a change of conduct is not always the consequence. On such occasions they too often fall back into their former manners, through the inactivity of reason, and infirmity of mind. But Antony was even a pattern for his soldiers. From all the varieties of luxurious living, he came with readiness to drink a little stinking water, and to feed on the wild fruits and roots of the desert. Nay, it is said, that they ate the very bark of the trees ; and that, in passing the Alps, they fed on creatures that had never been accounted human food.

Antony's design was to join Lepidus, who commanded the army on the other side of the Alps ; and he had a reasonable prospect of his friendship from the good offices he had done him with Julius Cæsar. When he came within a small distance of him he encamped ; but receiving no encouragement, he resolved to hazard all upon a single cast. His hair was uncombed, and his beard, which he had not shaven since his defeat, was long. In this forlorn figure, with a mourning mantle thrown over him, he came to the camp of Lepidus, and addressed himself to the soldiers. While some were affected with his appearance, and others with his eloquence, Lepidus, afraid of the consequence, ordered the trumpets to sound that he might no longer be heard. This, however, contributed to heighten the compassion of the soldiers ; so that they sent Lælius and Clodius in the dress of those ladies who hired out their favours to the army, to assure Antony,

that, if he had resolution enough to attack the camp of Lepidus, he would meet with many who were not only ready to receive him, but, if he should desire it, to kill Lepidus. Antony would not suffer any violence to be offered to Lepidus; but the day following, at the head of his troops, he crossed the river which lay between the two camps, and had the satisfaction to see Lepidus's soldiers all the while stretching out their hands to him, and making way through the entrenchments.

When he had possessed himself of the camp of Lepidus, he treated him with great humanity. He saluted him by the name of father; and though, in reality, every thing was in his own power, he secured to him the title and the honours of general. This conduct brought over Munatius Plancus, who was at the head of a considerable force at no great distance. Thus Antony was once more very powerful, and returned into Italy with seventeen entire legions of foot, and ten thousand horse. Beside these, he left six legions as a garrison in Gaul, under the command of Varius, one of his convivial companions, whom they called *Cotylon* *.

Octavius, when he found that Cicero's object was to restore the liberties of the commonwealth, soon abandoned him, and came to an accommodation with Antony. They met, together with Lepidus, in a small river island †, where the conference lasted three days. The empire of the world was divided amongst them like a paternal inheritance; and this they found no difficulty in settling. But whom they should kill, and whom they should spare, it was not so easy to adjust, while each was for saving his respective friends, and putting to death his enemies. At length their resentment against the latter over-

* From a half pint bumper; a Greek measure so called.

† In the Rhine, not far from Bologna.

came their kindness for the former. Octavius gave up Cicero to Antony; and Antony sacrificed his uncle Lucius Cæsar to Octavius; while Lepidus had the privilege of putting to death his own brother Paulus. Though others say, that Lepidus gave up Paulus to them*, though they had required him to put him to death himself. I believe there never was any thing so atrocious, or so execrably savage as this commerce of murder; for while a friend was given up for an enemy received, the same action murdered at once the friend and the enemy; and the destruction of the former was still more horrible, because it had not even resentment for its apology.

When this confederacy had taken place, the army desired it might be confirmed by some alliance; and Cæsar, therefore, was to marry Claudia the daughter of Fulvia, Antony's wife. As soon as this was determined, they marked down such as they intended to put to death; the number of which amounted to three hundred. When Cicero was slain, Antony ordered his head, and the hand with which he wrote his Philippics, to be cut off; and when they were presented him, he laughed, and exulted at the sight. After he was satiated with looking upon them, he ordered them to be placed on the *rostra* in the *forum*. But this insult on the dead was, in fact, an abuse of his own good fortune, and of the power it had placed in his hands†. When his uncle Lucius Cæsar was pursued by his murderers, he fled for refuge to his sister; and when the pursuers had broken into the

* The former English translator ought not to have omitted this; because it somewhat softens at least the character of Lepidus, who was certainly the least execrable villain of the three.

† Were there any circumstance in Antony's life that could be esteemed an instance of true magnanimity, the total want of that virtue in this case would prove that such a circumstance was merely accidental.

house, and were forcing their way into his chamber, she placed herself at the door, and, stretching forth her hands, she cried, "You shall not kill Lucius Cæsar till you have first killed me, the mother of your general." By this means she saved her brother.

This triumvirate was very odious to the Romans; but Antony bore the greater blame; for he was not only older than Cæsar, and more powerful than Lepidus, but, when he was no longer under difficulties, he fell back into the former irregularities of his life. His abandoned and dissolute manners were the more obnoxious to the people by his living in the house of Pompey the Great, a man no less distinguished by his temperance and modesty than by the honour of three triumphs. They were mortified to see these doors shut with insolence against magistrates, generals, and ambassadors; while they were open to players, jugglers, and sottish sycophants, on whom he spent the greatest part of those treasures he had amassed by rapine. Indeed the triumvirate were by no means scrupulous about the manner in which they procured their wealth. They seized and sold the estates of those who had been proscribed, and, by false accusations, defrauded their widows and orphans. They burdened the people with insupportable impositions; and being informed that large sums of money, the property both of strangers and citizens, were deposited in the hands of the vestals, they took them away by violence. When Cæsar found that Antony's covetousness was as boundless as his prodigality, he demanded a division of the treasure. The army too was divided. Antony and Cæsar went into Macedonia against Brutus and Cassius; and the government of Rome was left to Lepidus.

When they had encamped in sight of the enemy,

Antony opposite to Cassius, and Cæsar to Brutus, Cæsar effected nothing extraordinary, but Antony's efforts were still successful. In the first engagement Cæsar was defeated by Brutus; his camp was taken; and he narrowly escaped by flight; though, in his Commentaries, he tells us, that, on account of a dream which happened to one of his friends, he had withdrawn before the battle*. Cassius was defeated by Antony; and yet there are those, too, who say, that Antony was not present at the battle, but only joined in the pursuit afterwards. As Cassius knew nothing of the success of Brutus, he was killed at his own earnest entreaty, by his freedman Pindarus. Another battle was fought soon after, in which Brutus was defeated; and, in consequence of that slew himself. Cæsar happened, at that time, to be sick, and the honour of this victory, likewise, of course fell to Antony. As he stood over the body of Brutus, he slightly reproached him for the death of his brother Caius, whom, in revenge for the death of Cicero, Brutus had slain in Macedonia. It appeared, however, that Antony did not impute the death of Caius so much to Brutus as to Hortensius; for he ordered the latter to be slain upon his brother's tomb. He threw his purple robe over the body of Brutus, and ordered one of his freedmen to do the honours of his funeral. When he was afterwards informed, that he had not burned the robe with the body, and that he had retained part of the money which was to be expended on the ceremony, he commanded him to be slain. After this victory, Cæsar was conveyed to Rome; and it was expected that his distemper would put an end to his life. Antony having traversed some of the provinces of Asia for the purpose of raising money,

* See the life of Brutus.

passed with a large army into Greece. Contributions, indeed, were absolutely necessary, when a gratuity of five thousand drachmas had been promised to every private man.

Antony's behaviour was at first very acceptable to the Grecians. He attended the disputes of their logicians, their public diversions, and religious ceremonies. He was mild in the administration of justice, and affected to be called the friend of Greece; but particularly the friend of Athens, to which he made considerable presents. The Megarensians, vying with the Athenians in exhibiting something curious, invited him to see their senate-house; and when they asked him how he liked it, he told them it was little and ruinous. He took the dimensions of the temple of Apollo Pythius, as if he had intended to repair it; and, indeed, he promised as much to the senate.

But when, leaving Lucius Censorinus in Greece, he once more passed into Asia; when he had enriched himself with the wealth of the country; when his house was the resort of obsequious kings, and queens contended for his favour by their beauty and munificence; then, whilst Cæsar was harassed with seditions at Rome, Antony once more gave up his soul to luxury, and fell into all the dissipations of his former life. The Anaxenores and the Zuthi, the harpers and pipers, Metrodorus the dancer, the whole corps of the Asiatic drama, who far outdid in buffoonery the poor wretches of Italy; these were the people of the court, the folks that carried all before them. In short, all was riot and disorder. And Asia, in some measure, resembled the city mentioned by Sophocles*, that was at once filled with the perfumes of sacrifices, songs, and groans.

* Sophocles, *Œd. Sc. 1.*

When Antony entered Ephesus, the women in the dress of Bacchanals, and men and boys habited like Pan and the satyrs, marched before him. Nothing was to be seen through the whole city but ivy crowns, and spears wreathed with ivy, harps, flutes, and pipes, while Antony was hailed by the name of Bacchus.——

——“Bacchus! ever kind and free!”

And such, indeed, he was to some; but to others he was savage and severe. He deprived many noble families of their fortunes, and bestowed them on sycophants and parasites. Many were represented to be dead, who were still living; and commissions were given to his knaves for seizing their estates. He gave his cook the estate of a Magnesian citizen for dressing one supper to his taste: but when he laid a double impost on Asia, Hybrias, the agent for the people, told him, with a pleasantry that was agreeable to his humour, that, “If he doubled the taxes, he ought to double the seasons too, and supply the people with two summers and two winters.” He added, at the same time, with a little more asperity, that, “As Asia had already raised two hundred thousand talents, if he had not received it, he should demand it of those who had; but,” said he, “if you received it, and yet have it not, we are undone.” This touched him sensibly; for he was ignorant of many things that were transacted under his authority; not that he was indolent, but unsuspecting. He had a simplicity in his nature without much penetration. But when he found that faults had been committed, he expressed the greatest concern and acknowledgment to the sufferers. He was prodigal in his rewards, and severe in his punishments; but the excess was rather in the former than in the latter. The insulting raillery

his conversation carried its remedy along with it; for he was perfectly liberal in allowing the retort, and gave and took with the same good humour. This, however, had a bad effect on his affairs. He imagined that those who treated him with freedom in conversation would not be insincere in business. He did not perceive that his sycophants were artful in their freedom; that they used it as a kind of poignant sauce to prevent the satiety of flattery; and that, by taking these liberties with him at table, they knew well that, when they complied with his opinions in business, he would not think it the effect of complaisance, but a conviction of his superior judgment.

Such was the frail, the flexible Antony, when the love of Cleopatra came in to the completion of his ruin. This awakened every dormant vice, inflamed every guilty passion, and totally extinguished the gleams of remaining virtue. It began in this manner. When he first set out on his expedition against the Parthians, he sent orders to Cleopatra to meet him in Cilicia, that she might answer some accusations which had been laid against her of assisting Cassius in the war. Dellius, who went on this message, no sooner observed the beauty and address of Cleopatra, than he concluded that such a woman, far from having any thing to apprehend from the resentment of Antony, would certainly have great influence over him. He therefore paid his court to the amiable Egyptian, and solicited her to go, as Homer says, "in her best attire," into Cilicia; assuring her, that she had nothing to fear from Antony, who was the most courtly general in the world. Induced by his invitation, and in the confidence of that beauty

* Hom. II. xiv. l. 162. It is thus that Juno proposes to meet Jupiter, when she has a particular design of inspiring him with love.

which had before touched the hearts of Cæsar and young Pompey, she entertained no doubt of the conquest of Antony. When Cæsar and Pompey had her favours, she was young and unexperienced; but she was to meet Antony at an age when beauty, in its full perfection, called in the maturity of the understanding to its aid. Prepared, therefore, with such treasures, ornaments, and presents, as were suitable to the dignity and affluence of her kingdom, but chiefly relying on her personal charms, she set off for Cilicia.

Though she had received many pressing letters of invitation from Antony and his friends, she held him in such contempt that she by no means took the most expeditious method of traveling. She sailed along the river Cydnus in a most magnificent galley. The stern was covered with gold, the sails were of purple, and the oars were silver. These, in their motion, kept time to the music of flutes and pipes and harps. The queen, in the dress and character of Venus, lay under a canopy embroidered with gold, of the most exquisite workmanship; while boys, like painted Cupids, stood fanning her on each side of the sofa. Her maids were of the most distinguished beauty, and, habited like the Nereids and the Graces, assisted in the steerage and conduct of the vessel. The fragrance of burning incense was diffused along the shores, which were covered with multitudes of people. Some followed the procession, and such numbers went down from the city to see it, that Antony was at last left alone on the tribunal. A rumour was soon spread, that Venus was come to feast with Bacchus, for the benefit of Asia. Antony sent to invite her to supper: but she thought it his duty to wait upon her, and to show his politeness on her arrival, he complied. He was

astonished at the magnificence of the preparations ; but particularly at that multitude of lights, which were raised or let down together, and disposed in such a variety of square and circular figures that they afforded one of the most pleasing spectacles that has been recorded in history. The day following Antony invited her to sup with him, and was ambitious to outdo her in the elegance and magnificence of the entertainment. But he was soon convinced that he came short of her in both, and was the first to ridicule the meanness and vulgarity of his treat. As she found that Antony's humour favoured more of the camp than of the court, she fell into the same coarse vein, and played upon him without the least reserve. Such was the variety of her powers in conversation : Her beauty, it is said, was neither astonishing nor inimitable ; but it derived a force from her wit, and her fascinating manner, which was absolutely irresistible. Her voice was delightfully melodious, and had the same variety of modulation as an instrument of many strings. She spoke most languages ; and there were but few of the foreign ambassadors whom she answered by an interpreter. She gave audience herself to the Ethiopians, the Troglodites, the Hebrews, Arabs, Syrians, Medes, and Parthians. Nor were these all the languages she understood, though the kings of Egypt, her predecessors, could hardly ever attain to the Egyptian ; and some of them forgot even their original Macedonian.

Antony was so wholly engrossed with her charms that while his wife Fulvia was maintaining his interest at Rome against Cæsar, and the Parthian forces, assembled under the conduct of Labienus in Mesopotamia, were ready to enter Syria, she led her amorous captive in triumph to Alexandria.

There the veteran warrior fell into every idle excess of puerile amusement, and offered at *the shrine of luxury*, what Antipho calls the greatest of all sacrifices, *the sacrifice of time*. This mode of life they called *the inimitable*. They visited each other alternately every day; and the profusion of their entertainments is almost incredible. Philotas, a physician of Amphissa, who was at that time pursuing his studies in Alexandria, told my grandfather Lamprias, that, being acquainted with one of Antony's cooks, he was invited to see the preparations for supper. When he came into the kitchen, beside an infinite variety of other provisions, he observed eight wild boars roasting whole; and expressed his surprise at the number of the company for whom this enormous provision must have been made. The cook laughed, and said, that the company did not exceed twelve; but that, as every dish was to be roasted to a single turn; and as Antony was uncertain as to the time when he would sup, particularly if an extraordinary bottle, or an extraordinary vein of conversation was going round, it was necessary to have a succession of suppers. Philotas added, that being afterwards in the service of Antony's eldest son by Fulvia, he was admitted to sup with him, when he did not sup with his father; and it once happened that, when another physician at table had tired the company with his noise and impertinence, he silenced him with the following sophism: *There are some degrees of a fever in which cold water is good for a man: every man, who has a fever, has it in some degree; and, therefore, cold water is good for every man in a fever*. The impertinent was struck dumb with this syllogism; and Antony's son, who laughed at his distress, to reward Philotas for his good offices, pointing to a magnificent side-board of plate, said, "All that, Philotas, is yours!" Phi-

lotas acknowledged the kind offer ; but thought it too much for such a boy to give. And, afterwards, when a servant brought the plate to him in a chest, that he might put his seal upon it, he refused, and, indeed, was afraid to accept it : Upon which the servant said, " What are you afraid of ? Do not you consider that this is a present from the son of Antony, who could easily give you its weight in gold ? However, I would recommend it to you to take the value of it in money. In this plate there may be some curious pieces of ancient workmanship that Antony may set a value on." Such are the anecdotes which my grandfather told me he had from Philotas.

Cleopatra was not limited to Plato's four kinds of flattery *. She had an infinite variety of it. Whether Antony were in the gay, or the serious humour, still she had something ready for his amusement. She was with him night and day. She gamed, she drank, she hunted, she reviewed with him. In his night rambles, when he was reconnoitring the doors and windows of the citizens, and throwing out his jests upon them, she attended him in the habit of a servant, which he also, on such occasions, affected to wear. From these expeditions he frequently returned a sufferer both in person and character. But though some of the Alexandrians were displeased with this whimsical humour, others enjoyed it, and said, " That Antony presented his comic parts in Alexandria, and reserved the tragic for Rome." To mention all his follies would be too trifling ; but his fishing story must not be omitted. He was a fishing one day with Cleopatra, and had ill success, which, in the presence of his mistress, he looked upon as a disgrace ; he, therefore, ordered one of

* Plato, *Gorgias*.

the assistants to dive and put on his hook such as had been taken before. This scheme he put in practice three or four times, and Cleopatra perceived it. She affected, however, to be surprised at his success; expressed her wonder to the people about her; and, the day following, invited them to see fresh proofs of it. When the day following came, the vessel was crowded with people; and as soon as Antony had let down his line, she ordered one of her divers immediately to put a salt fish on his hook. When Antony found he had caught his fish, he drew up his line; and this, as may be supposed, occasioned no small mirth amongst the spectators. "Go, general!" said Cleopatra, "leave fishing to us petty princes of Pharos and Canopus; your game is cities, kingdoms, and provinces.*"

In the midst of these scenes of festivity and dissipation, Antony received two unfavourable messages; one from Rome, that his wife Fulvia, and his brother Lucius, after long dissensions between themselves, had joined to oppose Cæsar, but were overpowered, and obliged to fly out of Italy. The other informed him, that Labienus and the Parthians had reduced Asia, from Syria and the Euphrates to Lydia and Ionia. It was with difficulty that even this roused him from his lethargy: but waking at length, and, literally, waking from a fit of intoxication, he set out against the Parthians, and proceeded as far as Phœnicia. However, upon the receipt of some very moving letters from Fulvia, he turned his course towards Italy with two hundred ships. Such of his friends as had fled from thence, he received; and

* This expression of Cleopatra's has something of the same turn with that passage in Virgil——

Excudent alii spirantia mollius æra!

Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.

from these he learned, that Fulvia had been the principal cause of the disturbances in Rome. Her disposition had a natural tendency to violence and discord; and, on this occasion, it was abetted by jealousy; for she expected that the disorders of Italy would call Antony from the arms of Cleopatra. That unhappy woman died at Sycion, in her progress to meet her husband.

This event opened an opportunity for a reconciliation with Cæsar. For when Antony came to Italy, and Cæsar expressed no resentment against him, but threw the whole blame on Fulvia; their respective friends interfered, and brought them to an accommodation. The east, within the boundaries of the Ionian sea, was given to Antony; the western provinces to Cæsar; and Lepidus had Africa. When they did not accept of the consulship themselves, they were to dispose of it as they thought proper, in their turns.

After these matters were settled, they thought of means to secure this union which fortune had set on foot. Cæsar had a sister older than himself named Octavia, but they had different mothers. The mother of Octavia was Ancaria. Cæsar's mother was Attia. He had a great affection for this sister; for she was a woman of extraordinary merit. She had been already married to Caius Marcellus; but a little before this had buried her husband; and, as Antony had lost his wife, there was an opening for a fresh union. His connection with Cleopatra he did not affect to deny; but he absolutely denied that he was married to her; and, in this circumstance, indeed, his prudence prevailed over his love. His marriage with Octavia was universally wished. It was the general hope, that a woman of her beauty and distinguished virtues would acquire such an influence over Antony as

might, in the end, be salutary to the state. Conditions being mutually agreed upon, they proceeded to solemnize the nuptials at Rome; and the law which permits no widow to marry till the expiration of ten months after the decease of her husband was dispensed with by the senate.

Sextus, the son of Pompey, who was then in possession of Sicily, had not only made great ravages in Italy, but had covered the sea with such a number of piratical vessels, under the command of Menas and Menecrates, that it was no longer safe for other ships to pass. He had been favourable, notwithstanding, to Antony; for he had given a kind reception to his mother and his wife Fulvia, when they were obliged to fly from Rome. It was judged proper, therefore, to accommodate matters with him; and, for this purpose, a meeting was held at the promontory of Misenum by the mole that runs into the sea. Pompey was attended by his fleet; Antony and Cæsar by an army of foot. At this interview it was settled, that Pompey should keep Sicily and Sardinia, on condition that he should clear the sea of pirates, and send a certain quantity of corn to Rome. When these things were determined, they mutually invited each other to supper; but it fell to the lot of Pompey to give the first entertainment. When Antony asked him where they should sup: "There," said he, pointing to the admiral-galley of six oars, "that is the only patrimonial mansion-house that is left to Pompey;" and it implied, at the same time, a sarcasm on Antony, who was then in possession of his father's house. However, he entertained them very politely, after conducting them over a bridge from the promontory to the ship that stood at anchor. During the entertainment, while the revelry ran briskly on Antony and Cleopatra, Menas came to Pompey, and told him secretly, that, if he

would permit him to cut the cable, he would not only make him master of Sicily and Sardinia, but of the whole Roman empire. Pompey, after a moment's deliberation, answered, that he should have done it without consulting him. "We must now let it alone," said he, "for I cannot break my oath of treaty." The compliment of the entertainment was returned by his guests, and he then retired to Sicily.

Antony, after the accommodation, sent Ventidius into Asia, to stop the progress of the Parthians. All matters of public administration were conducted with the greatest harmony between him and Octavius; and, in compliment to the latter, he took upon himself the office of high-priest to Cæsar the dictator. But, alas! in their contests at play, Cæsar was generally superior, and Antony was mortified. He had in his house a fortune-telling gipsy, who was skilled in the calculation of nativities. This man, either to oblige Cleopatra, or following the investigation of truth, told Antony, that the star of his fortune, however glorious in itself, was eclipsed and obscured by Cæsar's, and advised him, by all means, to keep at the greatest distance from that young man. "The genius of your life," said he, "is afraid of his: when it is alone, its port is erect and fearless; when his approaches, it is dejected and depressed." Indeed, there were many circumstances that seemed to justify the conjurer's doctrine: for in every kind of play, whether they cast lots, or cast the die, Antony was still the loser. In their cock-fights and quail fights, it was still Cæsar's cock and Cæsar's quail. These things, cooperating with the conjurer's observations, had such an effect on Antony that he gave up the management of his domestic affairs to Cæsar, and left Italy. Octavia, who had by this time brought him a daughter, he

took with him into Greece. He wintered in Athens, and there he learned that his affairs in Asia, under Ventidius, were successful; that the Parthians were routed, and that Labienus and Pharnapates, the ablest generals of Orodes, fell in the battle. In honour of this victory he gave an entertainment to the Greeks, and treated the Athenians with an exhibition of the gymnastic games, in which he took the master's part himself. The robes and ensigns of the general were laid aside; the rods, the cloak, and the slippers of the Gymnasiarch were assumed; and when the combatants had fought sufficiently, he parted them himself.

When he went to the war, he took with him a crown of the sacred olive; and, by the direction of some oracle or other, a vessel of water filled out of the Clepsydra *. In the meantime, Pacorus, son of the king of Parthia, made an incursion into Syria; but was routed by Ventidius in Cyrrhestica, and, with the greatest part of his army, fell in the battle. This celebrated victory made ample amends for the defeat of Crassus. The Parthians had now been thrice conquered, and were confined within the bounds of Media and Mesopotamia. Ventidius would not pursue the Parthians any farther, for fear of exciting the envy of Antony; he therefore, turned his arms against the revolters, and brought them back to their duty. Amongst these was Antiochus, the king of Commagene, whom he besieged in the city of Samosata. That prince, at first offered to pay a thousand talents, and to submit himself to the Roman empire; upon which Ventidius told him, that he must send proposals to Antony; for he was then at no great distance; and he had

* The Clepsydra was a fountain belonging to the citadel at Athens; so called, because it was sometimes full of water, and sometimes empty.

not commissioned Ventidius, to make peace with Antiochus, that something at least might be done by himself. But while the siege was thus prolonged, and the people of Samosata despaired of obtaining terms, that despair produced a degree of courage which defeated every effort of the besiegers; and Antony was at last reduced to the disgraceful necessity of accepting three hundred talents.

After he had done some little towards settling the affairs of Syria, he returned to Athens, and sent Ventidius to Rome, to enjoy the reward of his merit in a triumph. He was the only general that ever triumphed over the Parthians. His birth was obscure, but his connexions with Antony brought him into great appointments; and, by making the best use of them, he confirmed what was said of Antony and Octavius Cæsar, that they were more successful by their lieutenants, than when they commanded in person. This observation, with regard to Antony in particular, might be justified by the success of Sossius and Canidius. The former had done great things in Syria; and the latter, whom he left in Armenia, reduced the whole country; and, after defeating the kings of Iberia and Albania, penetrated as far as Mount Caucasus, and spread the terror of Antony's name and power through those barbarous nations.

Soon after this, upon hearing some disagreeable reports concerning the designs or the conduct of Cæsar, he sailed for Italy with a fleet of three hundred ships; and, being refused the harbour of Brundisium, he made for Tarentum. There he was prevailed on by his wife Octavia, who accompanied him, and was then pregnant a third time, to send her to her brother; and she was fortunate enough to meet him on her journey, attended by his two friends, Mæcenæ and Agrippa. In conference with him, she entreated him to consider the peculiarity of her

situation, and not to make the happiest woman in the world the most unfortunate. "The eyes of all," said she, "are necessarily turned on me, who am the wife of Antony, and the sister of Cæsar; and should these chiefs of the empire, misled by hasty counsels, involve the whole in war, whatever may be the event, it will be unhappy for me." Cæsar was softened by the entreaties of his sister, and proceeded with peaceable views to Tarentum. His arrival afforded a general satisfaction to the people. They were pleased to see such an army on the shore, and such a fleet in the harbour, in the mutual disposition for peace; and nothing but compliments and expressions of kindness passing between the generals. Antony first invited Cæsar to sup with him, and, in compliment to Octavia, he accepted the invitation. At length it was agreed, that Cæsar should give up to Antony two legions for the Parthian service; and that Antony, in return, should leave a hundred armed galleys with Cæsar. Octavia, moreover, engaged Antony to give up twenty light ships to Cæsar, and procured from her brother a thousand foot for her husband. Matters being thus accommodated, Cæsar went to war with Pompey for the recovery of Sicily; and Antony, leaving under his protection his wife and his children, both by the present and the former marriage, sailed for Asia.

Upon his approach to Syria, the love of Cleopatra, which had so long been dormant in his heart, and which better counsels seemed totally to have suppressed, revived again, and took possession of his soul. The unruly steed, to which Plato* compares certain

* Plutarch here alludes to that passage in Plato, where he compares the soul to a winged chariot with two horses and a charioteer. One of these horses is mischievous and unruly; the other gentle and tractable. The charioteer is Reason: the unruly horse denotes the concupiscent, and the tractable horse the irascible part. PLATO, *Phæd.*

passions, once more broke loose, and in spite of honour, interest, and prudence, Antony sent Fonteius Capito to conduct Cleopatra into Syria.

Upon her arrival he made her the most magnificent presents. He gave her the provinces of Phœnicia, Cœlosyria, Cyprus, great part of Cilicia, that district of Judæa which produces the balm, and that part of Arabia Nabathea which lies upon the ocean. These extravagant gifts were disagreeable to the Romans: for, though he had often conferred on private persons considerable governments and kingdoms; though he had deprived many princes of their dominions, and beheaded Antigonus of Judæa, the first king that ever suffered in such a manner*; yet nothing so much disturbed the Romans as his enormous profusion in favour of that woman. Nor were they less offended at his giving the surnames of the sun and moon to the twins he had by her.

But Antony knew well how to give a fair appearance to the most disreputable actions. The greatness of the Roman empire, he said, appeared more in giving than in receiving kingdoms; and that it was proper for persons of high birth and station to extend and secure their nobility, by leaving children and successors born of different princes; that his ancestor Hercules trusted not to the fertility of one woman, as if he had feared the penalties annexed to the law of Solon; but, by various connexions with the sex, became the founder of many families.

After Orodes was slain by his son Phraates †, who took possession of the kingdom, many of the Parthian chiefs fled to Antony; and amongst the rest, Moneses, a man of great dignity and power. An-

* Dion tells us that Antigonus was first tied to a stake and whipped; and that afterwards his throat was cut.

† The same Phraates that Horace mentions. *Redditum Cyri solio Phraatem*. Lib. iii. ode 2.

tony thinking that Moneſes, in his fortune, reſembled Themistocles, and comparing his own wealth and magnificence to that of the kings of Persia, gave him three cities, Larissa, Arethusa, and Hierapolis, which was before called Bombyce. But when Phraates sent Moneſes assurances of his safety, he readily dismissed him. On this occasion he formed a scheme to deceive Phraates. He pretended a disposition for peace, and required only that the Roman standards and ensigns which had been taken at the defeat of Crassus, and such of the prisoners as still survived, might be restored. He sent Cleopatra into Egypt; after which he marched through Arabia and Armenia, where, as soon as his own troops were joined by the allies, he reviewed his army. He had several princes in alliance with him, but Artavasdes, king of Armenia was the most powerful; for he furnished six thousand horse, and seven thousand foot. At this review there appeared sixty thousand Roman foot, and ten thousand horse, who, though chiefly Gauls and Spaniards, were reckoned as Romans. The number of the allies, including the light armed and the cavalry, amounted to thirty thousand.

This formidable armament, which struck terror into the Indians beyond Bactria, and alarmed all Asia, his attachment to Cleopatra rendered perfectly useless. His impatience to return and spend the winter in her arms, made him take the field too early in the season, and precipitated all his measures. As a man who is under the power of enchantment, can only act as the impulse of the magic directs him, his eye was continually drawn to Cleopatra, and to return to her was a greater object than to conquer the world. He ought certainly to have wintered in Armenia, that he might give a proper respite and refreshment to his men, after a march of a thousand miles. In the early part of the spring, he should

have made himself master of Media, before the Parthian troops were drawn out of garrison: but his impatience put him upon the march, and leaving Armenia on the left, he passed through the province of Atropatene, and laid waste the country. In his haste, he left behind him the battering engines, amongst which was a ram eighty feet long, and these followed the camp on three hundred carriages. Had any damage happened to these, it would have been impossible to repair them in this upper part of Asia, where there is no timber of height or strength sufficient for the purpose. However, they were brought after him under the conduct of Statianus; and, in the mean time, he laid siege to the large city of Phraata, the residence of the king of Media's wives and children. Here he perceived his error in leaving the engines behind; for want of which he was obliged to throw up a mount against the wall; and that required considerable time and labour.

In the mean time, Phraates came up with a numerous army; and being informed that Antony had left behind him his machines, he sent a large detachment to intercept them. This party fell upon Statianus, who, with ten thousand of his men, was slain upon the spot. Many were taken prisoners, among whom was king Polemo; and the machines were seized by the enemy, and destroyed.

This miscarriage greatly discouraged the army; and Artavasdes, though he had been the promoter of the war, withdrew his forces in despair. The Parthians, on the other hand, encouraged by their success, came up with the Romans while they were employed in the siege, and treated them with the most insolent menaces and contempt. Antony, who knew that despair and timidity would be the consequence of inaction, led out ten legions, three prætorian cohorts heavy armed, and the whole body of

cavalry, on the business of foraging. He was persuaded, at the same time, that this was the only method of drawing the enemy after him, and bringing them to a battle. After one day's progress, he observed the enemy in motion, and watching an opportunity to fall upon him in his march. Hereupon he put up in his camp the signal for battle; but, at the same time, struck his tents, as if his intention was not to fight, but to retire. Accordingly he passed the army of the barbarians, which was drawn up in form of a crescent: but he had previously given orders to the horse to charge the enemy, full speed, as soon as their ranks were within reach of the legionary troops. The Parthians were struck with astonishment at the order of the Roman army, when they observed them pass at regular intervals without confusion, and brandish their pikes in silence.

When the signal was given for battle, the horse turned short, and fell with loud shouts on the enemy. The Parthians received the attack with firmness, though they were too close in with them for the use of their bows. But when the infantry came to the charge, their shouts, and the clashing of their arms, so frightened the enemy's horses, that they were no longer manageable; and the Parthians fled without once engaging. Antony pursued them closely, in hopes that this action would, in a great measure, terminate the war. But when the infantry had followed them fifty furlongs, and the cavalry at least an hundred and fifty, he found that he had not slain above eighty of the enemy, and that thirty only were taken prisoners. Thus, the little advantage of their victories, and the heavy loss of their defeats, as in the recent instance of the carriages, was a fresh discouragement to the Romans.

The day following they returned with their baggage to the camp before Phraata. In their march they

met with some straggling troops of the enemy, afterwards with greater parties, and at last with the whole army, which having easily rallied, appeared like a fresh army, and harassed them in such a manner, that it was with difficulty they reached their camp.

The Median garrison, in the absence of Antony, had made a sally; and those who were left to defend the mount, had quitted their post, and fled. Antony, at his return, punished the fugitives by decimation. That is, he divided them into tens; and, in each division, put one to death, on whom the lot happened to fall. Those that escaped had their allowance in barley instead of wheat.

Both parties now found their difficulties in the war. Antony had the dread of famine before him, for he could not forage without a terrible slaughter of his men; and Phraates, who knew the temper of the Parthians, was apprehensive, that, if the Romans persisted in carrying on the siege, as soon as the autumnal equinox was passed, and the winter set in, he should be deserted by his army, which would not at that time endure the open field. To prevent this, he had recourse to stratagem. He ordered his officers not to pursue the Romans too close when they were foraging, but to permit them to carry off provisions. He commanded them at the same time, to compliment them on their valour; and to express his high opinion of the Roman bravery. They were instructed, likewise, as opportunity might offer, to blame the obstinacy of Antony, which exposed so many brave men to the severities of famine and a winter campaign, who must suffer of course, notwithstanding all the Parthians could do for them, while Phraates sought for nothing more than peace, though he was still defeated in his benevolent intentions.

Antony, on these reports, began to conceive hopes; but he would not offer any terms before he was satis-

fied whether they came originally from the king. The enemy assured him that such were the sentiments of Phraates; and, being induced to believe them, he sent some of his friends to demand the standards and the prisoners that came into their hands on the defeat of Crassus; for he thought, if he demanded nothing, it might appear that he was pleased with the privilege of retreating. The Parthian answered, that the standards and prisoners could not be restored; but that Antony, if he thought proper, was at liberty to retreat in safety.

After some few days had been spent in making up the baggage, he began his march. On this occasion, though he had the happiest eloquence in addressing his soldiers, and reconciling them to every situation and event; yet, whether it was through shame, or sorrow, or both, he left that office to Domitius Ænobarbus. Some of them were offended at this as an act of contempt. But the greater part understood the cause, and, pitying their general, paid him still greater attention.

Antony had determined to take his rout through a plain and open country; but a certain Mardian, who was well acquainted with the practices of the Parthians, and had approved his faith to the Romans at the battle when the machines were lost, advised him to take the mountains on his right, and not to expose his heavy-armed troops in an open country to the attacks of the Parthian bowmen and cavalry. Phraates, he said, amused him with fair promises, merely to draw him off from the siege; but if he would take him for his guide, he would conduct him by a way that was nearer, and better furnished with necessaries. Antony deliberated some time upon this. He would not appear to doubt the honour of the Parthians after the truce they had agreed to; and yet, he could not but approve of a way which was

nearer, and which lay through an inhabited country. At last, he required the necessary pledges of the Mardian's faith, which he gave in suffering himself to be bound till he should have conducted the army into Armenia. In this condition he led the Romans peaceably along for two days: but on the third, when Antony, expecting nothing less than the Parthians, was marching forward in disorderly security, the Mardian, observing the mounds of a river broken down, and the waters let out into the plain where they were to pass, concluded that the Parthians had done this to retard their march, and advised Antony to be on his guard; for the enemy, he said, was at no great distance. Whilst Antony was drawing up his men, and preparing such of them as were armed with darts and slings to make a sally against the enemy, the Parthians came upon him, and, by surrounding his army, harassed it on every part. The light-armed Romans, indeed, made an incursion upon them, and, galling them with their missive weapons, obliged them to retreat; but they soon returned to the charge, till a band of the Gaulish cavalry attacked and dispersed them; so that they appeared no more that day.

Antony, upon this, found what measures he was to take; and, covering both wings and the rear with such troops as were armed with missive weapons, his army marched in the form of a square. The cavalry had orders to repel the attacks of the enemy, but not to pursue them to any great distance. The Parthians, of course, when in four successive days they could make no considerable impression, and found themselves equally annoyed in their turn, grew more remiss, and, finding an excuse in the winter season, began to think of a retreat. On the fifth day, Flavius Gallus, a general officer of great courage and valour, requested Antony, that he would

indulge him with a number of light-armed troops from the rear, together with a few horse from the front; and with these he proposed to perform some considerable exploit. These he obtained, and in repelling the attacks of the Parthians, he did not, like the rest, retreat by degrees towards the body of the army, but maintained his ground, and fought rather on the offensive than on the defensive. When the officers of the rear observed that he was separated from the rest, they sent to recall him, but he did not obey the summons. It is said, however, that Titius the quæstor turned back the standard, and inveighed against Gallus for leading so many brave men to destruction. Gallus, on the other hand, returned his reproaches, and commanding those who were about him to stand, he made his retreat alone. Gallus had no sooner made an impression on the enemy's front than he was surrounded. In this distress he sent for assistance; and here the general officers, and Canidius, the favourite of Antony, amongst the rest, committed a most capital error. Instead of leading the whole army against the Parthians, as soon as one detachment was overpowered, they sent another to its support; and thus, by degrees, they would have sacrificed great part of the troops, had not Antony come hastily from the front with the heavy-armed, and urging on the third legion through the midst of the fugitives, stopped the enemy's pursuit.

In this action no fewer than three thousand were slain, and five thousand brought back wounded to the camp. Amongst the last was Gallus, who had four arrows shot through his body, and soon after died of his wounds. Antony visited all that had suffered on this unhappy occasion, and consoled them with tears of real grief and affection: while the wounded soldiers, embracing the hand of their general, entreated him not to attend to their sufferings;

but to his own health and quiet: "While our general is safe, all," said they, "is well." It is certain that there was not in those days a braver or a finer army. The men were tall, stout, able and willing to endure the greatest toils. Their respect and ready obedience to their general was wonderful. Not a man in the army, from the first officer to the meanest soldier, but would have preferred the favour of Antony to his own life and safety. In all these respects they were at least equal to the armies of ancient Rome. A variety of causes, as we have observed, concurred to produce this: Antony's noble birth, his eloquence, his candour, his liberality and magnificence, and the familiar pleasantry of his conversation. These were the general cause of the affection he found in his army; and, on this particular occasion, his sympathising with the wounded and attending to their wants made them totally forget their sufferings.

The Parthians, who had before begun to languish in their operations, were so much elevated with this advantage, and held the Romans in such contempt, that they even spent the night by their camp, in hopes of seizing the baggage while they deserted their tents. At break of day numbers more came up, to the amount, as it is said, of forty thousand horse: for the Parthian king had sent even his body-guard, so confident was he of absolute victory; as to himself, he never was present at any engagement.

Antony being now to address his soldiers, called for mourning apparel, that his speech might be more affecting; but as his friends would not permit this, he appeared in his general's robe. Those that had been victorious he praised, those who had fled he reproached; the former encouraged him by every testimony of their zeal; the latter, offering themselves either to decimation or any other kind of pu-

nishment that he might think proper to inflict upon them, entreated him to forego his sorrow and concern. Upon this he raised his hands to heaven, and prayed to the gods, "That if his happier fortune was to be followed by future evil, it might affect only himself, and that his army might be safe and victorious."

The day following they marched out in better and firmer order, and the Parthians, who thought they had nothing to do but to plunder, when they saw their enemy in fresh spirits and in a capacity for renewing the engagement, were extremely disconcerted. However, they fell upon the Romans from the adjacent declivities, and galled them with their arrows as they were marching slowly forward. Against these attacks the light-armed troops were covered by the legionaries, who placing one knee upon the ground, received the arrows on their shields. The rank that was behind covered that which was before in a regular gradation; so that this curious fortification, which defended them from the arrows of the enemy, resembled the roof of a house.

The Parthians, who thought that the Romans rested on their knees only through weariness and fatigue, threw away their bows, and came to close engagement with their spears. Upon this the Romans leaped up with a loud shout, cut to pieces those who came first to the attack, and put all the rest to flight. This method of attack and defence being repeated every day, they made but little progress in their march, and were, besides, distressed for want of provisions; they could not forage without fighting; the corn they could get was but little, and even that they had not instruments to grind. The greatest part of them had been left behind; for many of their beasts of burden were dead, and many were employed in carrying the sick and

wounded. It is said that a bushel of wheat, Attic measure, was sold for fifty drachmas, and Charley lost four its weight in silver. Those who sought for roots and pot herbs found few that they had been accustomed to eat, and in tasting unknown herbs, they met with one that brought on madness and death. He that had eaten of it immediately lost all memory and knowledge; but, at the same time, would busy himself in turning and moving every stone he met with, as if he was upon some very important pursuit. The camp was full of unhappy men bending to the ground, and thus digging up and removing stones, till at last they were carried off by a bilious vomiting; when wine*, the only remedy†, was not to be had. Thus, while numbers perished, and the Parthians still continued to harass them, Antony is said frequently to have cried out, "O the ten thousand!" alluding to the army that Xenophon led from Babylon both a longer way‡, and through more numerous conflicts, and yet led in safety.

* The ancients held wine to be a principal remedy against vomiting. *Præterea vomitiones statit.*

Pluv. Nat. Hist. l. xxiii. c. 1.

† It was likewise esteemed good against many kinds of poisons. *Merum est contra cicutum, Aconita et omnia quæ refrigerant remedium.* Ibid.

‡ When Plutarch says that Xenophon led his ten thousand a longer way, he must mean to terminate Antony's march with Antioch.